THE PROTAGONISTS IN THE SATIRES OF JUVENAL

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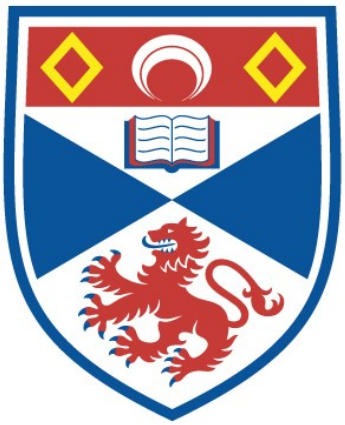
A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



1987

UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS

FACULTY OF ARTS

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Thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

by

F.M.A. Jones

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ABSTRACT

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The *persona* theory has been applied to various branches of Latin poetry, but is incomplete without also considering both audience and, where relevant, addressee. By extension it may be seen that not only addressees, but also characters talked about mould the style of a speaker, and ancient rhetorical precept and practice confirm this. This study concerns all the major characters in Juvenal's satires who have such an effect on the author's *persona*.

In a literary work the background to such characters must somehow be given to the audience: in a play, by the context; in non-dramatic work, by the use of known characters or character-types made recognisable by, *inter alia*, the conventional or verbal associations of their names. This study therefore contains a prior investigation into the ways in which Juvenal signals aspects of his theme or treatment by means of the names of such characters.

I Frederick Malcolm Anthony Jones hereby certify that this thesis which is approximately 100,000 words in length (excluding footnotes) has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

3rd June 1986

I was admitted as a research student under Ordinance no. 12 on 7 October 1979 and as a candidate for the degree of PhD on 20 June 1980; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 1979 and 1982.

3rd June 1986

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate to the degree of PhD of the University of St Andrews and that he is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

21st July 1986

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ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations for periodicals normally follow those used in L'Année Philologique. Editions and commentaries are cited by author's name or name and year, unless more detail was necessary. For other abbreviations see the following list:-

Anderson, Essays:	W.S. Anderson, Essays on Roman Satire (Princeton, 1982)
CIL:	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (Berlin,1863-)
CHCL ii:	E.J. Kenney and W.V. Clausen (Edd.), The Cambridge History of Classical literature ii (Cambridge, 1982)
CLE:	Carmina Latina Epigraphica, ed. F. Bücheler-E. Lommatzsch (Leipzig, 1895 - 1926)
Highet:	G. Highet, Juvenal the Satirist (Oxford, 1954)
Hofmann-Szantyr:	J.B. Hofmann - A. Szantyr, Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik (Munich, 1965)
IG:	Inscriptiones Graecae (Berlin, 1873-1939)
Lafleur:	R.A. Lafleur, A prosopographical commentary on Juvenal Book 1 (Diss. Duke Univ. Durham N.C., 1973) DA 34 (1973) 745A - 746A
Kajanto:	I. Kajanto, The Latin cognomina (Helsinki, 1964)
Morel:	Fragmenta Poetarum Latinorum (Stuttgart, ^{2}1927)
N. - H.:	R.G.M. Nisbet and M. Hubbard, A commentary on Horace Odes Book 1 (Oxford, 1970),

or/....

or Book 2 (1978)

OLD: Oxford Latin Dictionary

Otto: A. Otto, Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer (Leipzig, 1890)

PIR: Prosopographia Imperii Romani (Berlin, 1897 - 1898)

PIR²: Prosopographia Imperii Romani (Berlin and Leipzig, ²1933-)

P.Oxy The Oxyrhynchus Papyri (London, 1898-)

Pyne: J.J. Pyne, A study of Juvenal's use of personal names (Tufts Univ. diss. 1979) D.A. 40 (1979) 1449A

RE: Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft (Stuttgart, 1893-)

Sullivan, Critical Essays: J.P. Sullivan (ed.), Critical essays on Roman literature: Satire (London, 1963)

ThLL: Thesaurus Linguae Latinae (Leipzig, 1900-)

INTRODUCTION

The use of the *persona* theory as a critical tool has been applied with very useful results to Juvenal's satires.(1) Ancient rhetorical precept has much to say on the related concept *ethos* and a large amount of Roman literature can be elucidated with this perspective.(2) Declamatory exercises provide a very important background, but more or less fictionalized first person literature is found in the archaic period.(3) What has received less emphasis in the secondary literature, at least as far as Juvenal is concerned, is clear in both rhetorical precept and personal poetry: the idea that the character of an addressee dictates or has a strong influence on the tone and presentation of material.(4) Quintilian has it in mind that an orator should consider to whom and before whom he is speaking, but there is another aspect of this *ethos* orientation which is of equal importance here: the tone and the presentation of the material are elements which reveal the character of an addressee to an audience.(5) The audience of a fictitious or semi-fictitious work, an elegy, or an ode, satire (e.g. 2.1) or epistle of Horace for example, interprets the work as an utterance to (or about) someone, and in this process what is known of the addressee (or whatever) and the tone used are mutually enlightening.

I intend in this dissertation to investigate those of Juvenal's satires in which a conscious differentiation between the poet and his *persona* is made clear by the relationship between the tone and an additional *persona* (or *personae*) such as an addressee. It

will/....

will be argued that in these satires Juvenal poses as one who, speaking to or about another *persona*, adapts his tone in the light of the other's character, and that a consideration of the *persona(e)* to whom the satires are addressed (or about whom the narration is) will elucidate what is said by the speaker and (therefore) what is meant by the author.

I shall deal primarily with those satires where the *personae* other than the speaker are of sufficient importance to affect the whole of the satire in which they are found (this gives the advantage of allowing poems to be dealt with as coherent wholes), but it should also be noticed that similar devices are used by Juvenal on a smaller scale within individual satires.

The range of relationships exhibited between such major *personae* (henceforth referred to as protagonists) is wide and in order to define the scope of the material it will be necessary to categorize the protagonists in a formal manner, as interlocutors addressees and so on (Chapter 1). Much must be learned about the protagonists from information given in the poems and ultimately from the presentation of the material, but this can be supplemented or supported by such relatively objective considerations as the placing and frequency of their names (Chapter 2), any social, historical or verbal significance these may have (Chapter 3).

This material because of its comparative objectivity forms the first part of the dissertation. It is followed by analyses of the functions of the protagonists in the satires where such figures are found: *Sat.* 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, 12 and 13.

Although/....

Although there is relevant material in Sat. 7 a detailed analysis would have required a discussion of the structure too long to be included in the thesis.

CHAPTER 1

THE TYPES OF PROTAGONIST USED BY JUVENAL

In terms of how they fit into the structures of Juvenal's satires, it is sufficient to distinguish the speaker and three types of protagonist.

The categorisation (including speaker) will be as follows:-

(i speaker)
ii addressees
iii interlocutors
iv narrative protagonists

i) Speaker[1]

The role of speaker is not uniform. (1) In those satires in which a protagonist is addressed, the speaker takes a standpoint which may be placed on a scale including veiled opposition to the standpoint the poem allows us to attribute to the protagonist (e.g. Sat. 13) or feigned concurrence with the protagonist's position (e.g. Sat. 5[2]).

In/.....

In such cases the satire may be seen largely in terms of ad hominem irony. To complicate matters, a standpoint may be attributed to a protagonist by the speaker which internal evidence (the speaker's words) suggests is misleadingly attributed. Thus the speaker addresses Persicus in Sat.11 as though the latter would be interested in a dinner of simple fare, but various details in the poem make this a dubious proposition.(3) Again we may speak of ad hominem irony, and where we do this a study of the homo ad quem will elucidate the position of the speaker, the nature of what he says and, indirectly, the general import of the poem.

This generalized account is valid for the addressed satires and for Sat.9 where the speaker addresses an interlocutor. It is applicable in a rather different way to Sat.3, for though the speaker does not address Umbricius the satire has a dialogue structure and in the prologue the speaker indicates a standpoint ambiguously related to Umbricius' expressed views and the implications he makes about the relationship between himself and the speaker.

(2.) Rather different is the relationship between the speaker and the protagonists who are not addressed, but are spoken about. There are similarities between the treatment given to Umbricius and that given to Catullus in Sat.12 (both are apparently friends of the speaker, both are subjected to irony), but the speaker may leave feigned concurrence and veiled opposition behind in dealing with narrative figures: the position the speaker takes against Crispinus and Domitian in Sat.4, against Virro in Sat.5 and 9 makes this clear.

In/.....

In such cases as Crispinus and Domitian ad hominem irony is not a useful concept, but we may still ask what stand the speaker takes and why he does so. Thus in Sat.5 the attitude to Virro is influenced by the presence of the addressee, Trebius. The uncompromising criticism of Virro turns out to need modification at the end of the satire, since it becomes clear that Virro is what Trebius deserves. One might say that here the criticism of Virro is, in part, an element of the irony directed against another protagonist in the same poem, namely Trebius.

There is a partly comparable explanation for the direct criticism of Crispinus in the narrative of Sat.4, which suggests ~~not mean~~ that we should not take the opposition as a simple personal expression. Also the relationship between the speaker, on the one hand, and both Crispinus and Domitian, on the other, is constructed within the epic-style framework. The opposition, that is to say, is one of the elements of a parody of imperial epic (and therefore imperial values).(4)

In all these cases the role of the speaker is closely related to that of other protagonists and a study of the latter is necessary in order to give the speaker definition. Although it is with these cases that this dissertation is concerned, it is worth noting the obvious fact that an alien standpoint can be assumed without the apparatus of addressees and the like, and this is precisely what happens in much of Juvenal's satire (and in Petronius' Satyrica).

ii) Addressees

Within the satiric tradition Lucilius, Horace and Persius

made/.....

made use of addressed literary forms, and ten of Juvenal's satires are addressed to some named personage. Of these ten, three seem to have no role in their respective satires beyond the fact of being addressed, a purely formal role. These are the addressees of Sat.14, 15 and (as seems likely at any rate) 16. It is to be noticed that these are consecutively the last three satires. The remaining seven addressees are more closely involved in their respective poems.

The formal aspect of the connections between addressee and poem is as follows. Trebius takes part in the dinner which is envisaged in Sat.5 and Persicus is about to do the same in Sat.11; Postumus is getting married in the satire on women (Sat.6); Ponticus is a prospective governor in Sat.8, a poem concerning virtus and nobilitas in terms of the contrasts between their private and public expression; Calvinus has suffered the loss of money which is considered in Sat.13. Less explicitly, Juvenal suggests that Corvinus in Sat.12 has some relationship with Catullus, whose escape from disaster at sea is described in the poem; Telesinus may be connected with the subject matter of Sat.7 insofar as it can be argued that he represents the types both of mean patron and of writer in a poem about literary men and patronage. I reserve discussion of Caesar, obliquely addressed in Sat.7, for chapter 2.

These, of course, are the connections between addressee and poem expressed on the surface level and no account is taken yet of the tone used towards the addressees and the effect this tone has on one's attitude to the themes of the poems. On this level, however, it is to be noticed that, although the addressee

is/.....

is the most common type of protagonist in Juvenal (it is a very common form in ancient literature), there is much variety in the links used between protagonist and subject matter. The only repeated motifs involve (i) the two quite different dinners and two characters whose positions as regards the dinners are quite different, and (ii) the moderate disasters, one of which Catullus escapes and the other of which Calvinus suffers, both with financial loss. But they are different disasters, and that in Sat.12 is comparatively incidental, as opposed to that in Sat.13, to the main themes.

Some extra attention should be given to the addressee of Sat.12 here. The poem is one of a small group (Sat.11, 12 & 13) written in the form of set pieces of occasional poetry (invitation[5], thanksgiving for a friend's recovery[6] and consolatio) which adhere closely to the commonplaces conventionally associated with the respective occasions. Much of the point of the poem derives from the dashing of the expectations arising from these formal arrangements.

iii) Interlocutors

Two of Juvenal's satires use the dialogue form: Sat.3 and Sat.9. Courtney[7] does not count Sat.3 as a dialogue, and strictly one might call it a narration of a speech that has already been made, but it is formally very similar to some of Horace's dialogue satires and the end of Umbricius' speech brings the speaker into the picture.

Horace/....

Horace used the dialogue form several times[8] and his examples are generally arranged so that one of the speakers is given by far the greater part in the distribution of speech, and in largely continuous form (Sat. 2.3; 2.4; 2.7; 2.8; of these the first three all include reports of a lecture which has already been made)[9]. The exception is Sat. 2.5 where the amount of speech apportioned to the two participants is more evenly balanced and there is also a more frequent alteration of speaker.

Juvenal's third satire uses the prevalent Horatian type, and conforms especially closely to Sat.2.3 where Horace appears at the beginning and end and the central section (of roughly the same length as Umbricius' speech[10]) is given over to the second-hand tirade of Damasippus. A significant difference is brought to our notice by the last lines of Umbricius' speech, for these remind us of Juvenal's presence as a character in the scene envisaged in the poem, and thereby emphasize the absence of any reply by him[11].

The second of Juvenal's dialogues, Sat.9, conforms rather to the type represented by the fifth satire of Horace's second book in the balance of amount of speech given to each character, in the rate of alternation of speakers and in the situation (one character gives advice, another wants to make money). In both cases the advice is a source of ironic humour and the poet keeps his distance. Since Sat.9 is one of Juvenal's shorter poems (150 lines) length too is comparable (the Horace is 110 lines)

It seems that Juvenal may have based his dialogues on

Horatian/.....

Horatian structures. In Horace Sat.2.3, 2.4 and 2.7 the interlocutor, whatever worth there is in his speech, is clearly distinguished from Horace (as poet and as speaker); in Sat.2.7 the two nearly come to blows at the end of the satire. But what Umbricius says in Juvenal's third satire is not unlike what Juvenal writes elsewhere without using such a mouthpiece. Where the speaker of a poem does not quote anyone else's words there is on the reader's part a natural tendency to see oddities in the speech as signs of irony or comic intent. This impression may be strengthened in a collection of poems because the speaker may be carried over and developed from poem to poem or, if different personae are clearly used they illuminate each other and make it clear that they do not represent the author's voice. With quoted speech, however, there is a greater chance that the interlocutor created for the poem means what he says: there is likely to be less depth in the included character(12). There is every reason to believe Umbricius is sincere, but this does not entail that either Juvenal or the speaker in Sat.3 must be imagined supporting his views.

Where the form of a poem is two characters speaking to each other, both may be equally distanced from the author (Hor.Sat.2.5), although this is far from essential, but what is perhaps more important is the distance between the two speakers (as in Hor.O.3.9). In Sat. 9 the interlocutor is more obviously unsympathetic than Umbricius and this shows Juvenal utilizing the possibilities of the dialogue form, for it would have been difficult to sustain the speaker's tone of ironic sympathy continuously/....

continuously for the length of a satire. Juvenal does achieve something similar in Sat.11, but with an addressee who is not patently objectionable.

iv) Narrative protagonists

The characters who appear in narrative and are sufficiently important to extend their influence over a whole poem are: Crispinus and Domitian (Sat.4), Virro (Sat. 5 & 9[13]) and Catullus (Sat.12). There is also the unnamed criminal in Sat.13, but his position lies rather in the events antecedent to the satire and need not be discussed here.

Domitian and Virro have similar positions in the three satires they occupy. They both remain in the background or at a remove while giving shape to the foreground.

In Sat.5 Virro's magnificent food is a constant affront to Trebius whose sufferings are a theme of the poem, Virro himself is but dimly seen and speaks not at all (Sat.135-136 is a hypothetical case). So too Domitian's power is clearly seen in Sat.4, his fish is an affront to the counsellors, and he remains practically silent (although the context of a council leads one to expect speech). In Sat.9 Virro remains off stage, but is continually talked about by Naevolus as a figure to be hated and feared. In Sat.5 & 9 the speaker's comments on the narrative character (Virro) are influenced by the viewpoints of the addressee (Trebius) and interlocutor (Naevolus) and we are almost given a description of Virro as seen by these characters, but the critical

tone/.....

tone adopted turns out to be ambivalent and serves as an implicit criticism of Trebius and Naevolus(14).

Catullus' position in Sat.12 is different in that he is explicitly stated to be a friend of the speaker (15). This raises a natural expectation that the character to whom the speaker narrates his fate is interested because of his friendship to Catullus, or at least a kindly disposition to the friend of a friend (the speaker), for this is the most obvious reason for him listening in such a context and it is normal in addressed literature for speaker to assume a common interest with addressee(15). One of the factors which undermines this expectation is the particular line of irony used with regard to Catullus and to this extent the tone adopted towards the narrated character performs an analogous function to that used for Virro in altering the reader's final view of the addressee.

Both the protagonists dealt with by the speaker in Sat.4 occur in a narrative structure without any addressee; there is common ground in that the depiction of Crispinus' behaviour and attitude to Domitian may be seen as part of the criticism of the type represented by Domitian, whose blatant unpleasantness (like that of Virro) makes Crispinus' attitude the more unattractive. The speaker's tone differs in this poem in being parasitic on the epic voice, but this style is intimately related to the imperial protagonist (via the suggestion of imperial epic) and this does give a phenomenon related to the way the addressee's character affects the speaker's tone in Sat.5 and elsewhere.

There/.....

There are degrees of scale in Juvenal's *exempla*: at *Sat.*4.22-23 Apicius enters briefly to make a point, at *Sat.*14.86-95 Caetronius is given ten lines and there is a dense collection of names at the beginning of *Sat.*8. These examples are far from protagonists, but there is an intermediate stage. The list of courtiers in *Sat.*4 comes close to such a function, and Laronia in the second satire (36 ff) is used very much as Umbricius is in the third. Rubellius Blandus (*Sat.*8.39 ff) and Pacuvius (*Sat.*12. 111 ff) assume such importance as to blur the role of the protagonists in those satires.

Finally, just as Caesar and Telesinus balance each other in the introduction to *Sat.*7, and suggest something about the nature of the sequel, Heraclitus and Democritus suggest that a mixed attitude should be brought to bear on *Sat.*10[16].

CHAPTER 2

NAME PLACING AND DISTRIBUTION

Juvenal uses various relationships between speaker and protagonist(s) and this allows some rudimentary classification of the satires. Some refinement may be sought from the technicalities of address and the frequency and placing of the names[1] of the protagonists. It will be convenient to retain the categorisation used in the preceding chapter and, within each group, to deal with the characters in the order of the satires in which they appear.

I Speaker

It is no surprise that the speaker is not named outside the two dialogue satires, but neither Umbricius (Sat.3) nor Naevolus (Sat.9) use any of Juvenal's names[2]. None are intractable in all their cases. Umbricius' speech only directs itself to the speaker at the very end (Sat.3.318, ergo vale nostri memor): nearer the beginning Umbricius gets carried away to the point of addressing instead the citizen body (Sat.3.60, Quirites). Similarly in Sat.9 Naevolus does not address the speaker (although the speaker addresses Naevolus at Sat.9.1 & 91), but frequently apostrophises the absent Virro. Naevolus does purport to answer the speaker's questions so that he is not so clearly declaiming without concern for the other's presence as

Umbricius/.....

Umbricius does for some 290 lines. But Naevolus' answers are perfunctory and he seems more interested in complaining about his own problems than in dialogue. The direction of the speeches to Virro rather than to the speaker indicates Naevolus' indignation and his distraction from the circumstances around him.

II Addressees

Sat.5, 6, 7, 8, and 11 - 16 are all addressed to individuals (whether real or fictitious) with Roman names.

Trebius in Sat.5 is first named at line 19 and subsequently at 135 (twice). It is clear from the beginning that he is being addressed (not spoken about as Crispinus was in the preceding poem), and so it is surprising that the first appearance of his name is not the expected vocative, but the nominative of the sentence. A distancing effect is given(3). In fact Trebius' name is used more by Virro than by the speaker(4).

The placing of the first appearance of the name (line 19) is perhaps suggestive: the addressees of Horace's Epistles (including the Ars Poetica) are addressed by name no later than the sixth line(5) and the addressees of five of Juvenal's satires (Sat.8,12,14,15,16) have the address in the first line, Sat.13 in the 5th(6). But a position around line 20 is not unparalleled.

Umbricius (although not an addressee) is named for the first (and only time) at Sat.3.21, Postumus first at Sat.6.21, Telesinus at Sat.7.25, Persicus at Sat. 11.57. But special reasons are to hand for the late appearance of Postumus (the

length/.....

length of the satire and the placing of the address after the proem), Telesinus (the presence of Caesar in the first line) and Persicus (the address is in the second line after the introduction), and it is not impossible that the delayed naming of Trebius adds to the distant tone produced by the third person substitute for an address.

Postumus in Sat.6 is addressed at lines 21, 28 and 377 and an Ursidius is named at 38 and 42. Arguments will be adduced to the effect that Ursidius Postumus is a single character.(7) For the present it is enough to reiterate that Postume follows immediately on the introduction (Sat.6.1-20) and to state that the second Postume stresses the remonstrance uxorem ducis?(8) Postume appears again at Sat.6.377 partly as an element providing cohesion in a long poem.

Telesinus in Sat.7 is addressed at line 25, but in this poem another important name has already appeared in the first line: Caesare. This arrangement has something of an analogy in Horace Epp.1.13 where Vinius is the addressee and Augustus is named (dative) before him: Augusto reddes signata volumina, Vini (2)(9). Juvenal perhaps imitates a conventional mode of flattering address.

In Sat.8 Ponticus is addressed at lines 1, 75, 179; he is the first of Juvenal's addressees to be addressed at the very beginning of the poem. This may show a foreshadowing of the manner of later satires, i.e Sat. 12 - 16, ~~with a certain emphatic quality for the opening of the~~ but also the reiterated address is noticeable: Ponticus is the most frequently addressed

protagonist/....

protagonist apart from Postumus in the long sixth satire. There does seem to be a need for this, caused by the insertion of lengthy *exempla* (Rubellius Blandus and Lateranus), and the later addresses are formally resumptive, following those exempla. In fact the transitions seem designed to puzzle, at least in the case of Rubellius. (*Sat.*8.71 ff)[10].

Persicus is addressed at *Sat.*11.57, the latest of all the addressees. For 55 lines there is no indication that this satire is not to be unaddressed, as *Sat.*10 was. The introduction is clearly satirical, whereas the invitation to dinner which Persicus receives is apparently friendly and the delayed address (in the second line of the invitation section) helps to separate the two sections. It is part of the design of the poem that this separation is blurred by the end of the poem[11].

Following this *invitatio*, Corvinus in *Sat.*12 is addressed in the first line of a *soteria*[12]. (Juvenal's poems begin to assume more conventional formality than usual, for *Sat.*11 and the next two satires[13].) A second address comes at *Sat.*12.93 to redirect attention to Corvinus after the description of Catullus' fate.

Calvinus is addressed in the fifth line of a *consolatio*, *Sat.*13. As in the case of *Sat.*12, there is formality in the occasional genre and in the early address,[14] but at line 16 Calvinus is referred to in the third person, suggesting distance as with the naming of Trebius.

The addressees of *Sat.*14, 15 & 16 seem to be purely indications of epistolic form. They appear to have no connection with the matter of the satires they appear in and disappear after the 1st line. It is perhaps strange that it is one of

these unconnected addressees who is given an address by nomen and cognomen, Volusi Bithynice. The only parallel in Juvenal is Ursidius Postumus (if that is one character), and in his case the names are not both part of a formal address. Perhaps Volusius was a real contemporary.

III Interlocutors

Umbricius is named after the scene has been set (Sat.3.21). Since his presence is indicated in the first line (veteris amici) and he occupies rather more than the first four lines this delay might pass notice. But perhaps a certain oddity may be felt in his disappearance for 12 lines at Sat.3.5-16 with only a vestigial entry in descendimus (17) and only coming to the foreground four lines later in the formula, hic tunc Umbricius ... inquit (Sat.3.21), introducing a speech which takes up the rest of the poem. The introduction, part of the function of which is to introduce the speaker, is very largely taken up with parenthetic generalisations. While this may have no absolute significance, taken with the undermining of Umbricius' viewpoint which, I argue in the relevant chapter, can be seen in the poem, this feature may add precision to the representation of the speaker's tone and intensify any suspicions we derive from other grounds.

Naevolus is addressed by the speaker at Sat.9.1 and 91. An address near the beginning gives liveliness or intensity; here

the/...

the comic provenance of the opening[15] combines to give a light hearted bantering tone in marked contrast to that of Sat.5 (also to a poor amicus). There is also a marked contrast with the opening of Naevolus' first reply: didactic and grandiose.

The second address certainly clarifies the speech distribution (and is, very roughly, central). Perhaps in iusta doloris,/Naevole, causa tui (Sat.9.90 - 91) the use of the name is meant to have a consoling air. (Certainly addresses are frequently used in contexts of companionship and love.) Of course ironic.

In the speaker's next response (Sat.9.102 f) he addresses Naevolus so: o Corydon, Corydon. Clearly mock sympathy here, and perhaps the value of the name is enhanced by the recent use of Naevolus' real name.

It is suggestive that the speaker addresses Naevolus three times, twice by his real name, whereas Naevolus rather apostrophes his absent amicus (Sat.9.54,82; not by name)[16]. The speaker takes the initiative in address, but also in providing impetus in the dialogue: Naevolus' answers develop into tangential expositions of his concerns and hopes, like a series of monologues.

The impression which emerges is congruent with the characterisation of a man too occupied withhis own problems to turn his thoughts to the man he is meant to be talking to. The speaker seems, by contrast, to be leading Naevolus on to reveal his own faults. The technique is very different from that of Sat.5, hence the difference in name usage.

IV Narrative/.....

IV Narrative protagonists

Crispinus in Sat. 4 is named at lines 1, 14, 24 (an apostrophe) and 108. The distribution suits the change his role undergoes in the course of the poem: as he merges in with the terrified courtiers his individual importance diminishes and his name almost disappears.

By contrast, the nomenclature of Domitian is striking: induperatorem (Sat.4.29), Flavius ultimus (37-38), calvo Neroni(38), pontifici summo (46), Caesaris (51), Atriden (65), Caesar (135), dux magnus (145). The variety of form (and case) suggests a manifold presence all the more emphatic because of Domitian's near silence: he utters less than a hexameter at the council (Sat.4.130).

Virro in Sat.5 is named on a similarly prolific scale (like Crispinus in Sat.4, Trebius is a marked contrast), but without the variety of nomenclature: Sat.5.39, 43, 99, 128, 134, 149, 156, all use some form of Virro. Not only is Virro so designated, but his amici are referred to under his name as well: Virronis amicus (Sat.5.134) and, even more emphatically, reliquis Virronibus (Sat.5.149). One function of this seems to be to rouse the addressee, Trebius, from his abjectness. Tacitus gives an example of the use of a name rousing ill feelings (Hist. 2.53.1) and the reverse can be seen in Sat.13 where the speaker avoids the name of Calvinus's friend (cf. Sat.13.248, nominis inuisi) in a poem in which Calvinus' indignation is criticised (cf. Sat.13. 13 ff).

Virro reappears in Sat.9[17] where he is named at line 35. But he is referred to, spoken of and apostrophised (not by name) throughout by Naevolus, despite the fact that Naevolus is speaking to someone else. This manner of naming suggests Naevolus' preoccupation with his own problem, his relations with Virro, and the infrequency of the name gives the air of a monologue:[18] in soliloquy the need for (identifying) names is absent. Virro's domination of the speeches, despite his absence, invests him with something of the oppressive power his frequent naming in Sat.5 gives him.

Catullus in Sat.12 appears as an unnamed friend at line 16 in a prepositional phrase and is not named, although his fate is the subject matter, until line 29. There is perhaps something casual about this, which Catullus' complete disappearance in the second half of the poem may also suggest. Other features of the poem confirm a suspicion that the use of amicus in Sat.12.16 is ironic[19].

By way of summary I provide a table of the first naming of all addressees and analogous figures.

Addressees/.....

	Addressees	Interlocutors	Other
1			
2			
3		21 Umbricius	
4			1 Crispinus
5	19 Trebius		39 Virro
6	21 Postume		
7	25 Telesine		1 Caesare
8	1 Pontice		
9		1 Naevole	35 Virro
10			
11	57 Persice		
12	1 Corvine		29 Catullo
13	5 Calvine		
14	1 Fuscine		
15	1 VolusiBithynice		
16	1 Galli		

Two/....

Two apparent anomalies have already been discussed: the lateness of the address to Persicus, and the position of Caesar in Sat.7. It remains to be noted that I have left Domitian (Sat.4) out of the table because of the complexity of his case, involving so much variety of nomenclature.

CHAPTER 3

NAMES IN JUVENAL: THE PROTAGONISTS

I Introduction to the names in Juvenal

It is widely accepted that most of the names used in Juvenal's satires belong to those already dead (cf 1.170-1) or who are type figures of one kind or another[1]. There is also little doubt that, like the other characters, the protagonists do not, on the whole belong to the ranks of living contemporaries of the poet.

Courtney tentatively makes exceptions of Ponticus and Calvinus, but Persicus and Corvinus, he writes, 'have names which seem suspiciously appropriate to the circumstances in which they find themselves'.[2]
Coincidences may occur. During the British approach to the Crimea 'it had been decided to land at a bay.... bearing the ill-omened name of Calamita Bay'.[3] The omen was fulfilled. Furthermore, the significance of the names of historical Romans is not infrequently played on: the unfortunate Atrius Umber provides an example (Livy 28.28.4) comparable to Calamita Bay, and some of the addressees of Horace's first book of Epistles and Statius' Silvae[4] are treated to name play. One should also note the pointed proximity of Fuscine (14.1) and nitidis maculam (14.2) in Juvenal. Fuscinus has no real role in

the/.....

the satire except as formal addressee and one might expect him, therefore, not to be a fictitious creation: if this is his only role, there would have been no need to invent a special addressee rather than simply choose a convenient or congenial contemporary.

In effect the use of the verbal, social or geographical significance of a name does not exclude the possibility that the name holder was a real personage, even if the significance is not merely restricted to the immediate context as in the case of Fuscinus, but extends over a whole poem, as for instance that of Celsus in Hor. Epp.1.8. Such significance, however, is a factor to be borne in mind when the question of historical existence is raised and this is one reason why a study of the names of Juvenal's protagonists is worthwhile. A second reason is that the presence and kind of name play or significance (just as the place the name occupies) has an effect on the tone of the address and the discourse (and therefore the relationship we discern between speaker and name bearer) and may indeed be relevant to the whole poem.

Given the frequency and variety of word play, name play and significant name in ancient authors, it is natural that different systems of classification have been proposed. One method[5] follows the technicalities of how the significance is elicited (paranomasia, double entendre &c). One might observe that the majority of names in Terence are significant, but in comparison with Plautus he is sparing in pointing the significance out with word-play[6].

This/.....

This method of classification would not be of much benefit for my purposes, due to the statistically small number of names to be treated, nor would it be a satisfactory way of approaching the question of what the significance of any given name is (if any). Bartelink[7] categorises according to the type of name from which significance is drawn (place names, family names &c) Obviously of little relevance here.

Again, to classify according to the purpose of the play as, for example, irony, nomen omen, aetiology (as in Virgil,Ovid's Fasti would beg the question[8].

The present enquiry demands rather a de novo investigation. Strictly relevant will be to investigate what kind of significance there may be in the names of Juvenal's protagonists, by probing the likely sources of significance, bearing in mind the general context of the satire the names come from.

There are various possible sources of significance. An obvious and perennial one is social provenance[9]. Towards the end of the period of tragedy, Greek literature assumes an increasing interest in the individual character and social or domestic manners. This is evidenced in Theophrastus' Characters, New Comedy, Hellenistic poetry, Epicurus, and so on[10]. The concern with the individual is manifested in different ways, channelled as it is into different genres and affected by the manifold factors which generate and sustain those genres. In New Comedy and in much of the Greek Anthology there is a realism in the names which suits what might be called 'comedy of manners'; the broad social distinctions between slaves, courtesans and

citizens/.....

citizens visible here, are preserved in the Latin fabula palliata where they still relate to a recognisable world, and where the slave and courtesan names may remain Greek as well as being apposite to Roman circumstances. The Greek names for courtesans are subsequently preserved to some extent in Latin elegy and widely in Horatian lyric and Martial(11). By contrast masculine names become Roman in these genres, as opposed to the fabula palliata, so that a more complete naturalisation is clear.

Naturally the less exalted genres give more scope for the use of socially significant names. In some cases, particularly the letter and patron-orientated literature, such as Statius' Silvae, names from particular social registers may well occur, but only because the writers had addressees of those social levels. On the other hand the social significance of a name in the more fictitious of the less exalted genres, for example satire, elegy, epigram and the novel, is likely to have been sought for literary purposes. Examples are easy to come by: there are several in Horace Satire 1.6, numerous in Juvenal's eighth satire. In Petronius the majority of the personal names are Greek and there is in general a class of socially indicative names whose indications are made through suggestions of nationality. So , in part, Xanthias in Horace (O. 2.4)(12), and so Trimalchio(13) and a large number of Greek names in Juvenal's third satire(14). But Juvenal does not use the geographical provenance (as opposed to meaning) of his protagonists' names in this way. (See below).

Quite different from Xanthias and Trimalchio are geographical

names/.....

names like Persicus, Syrus, Ponticus. They can indicate social provenance, but not because the name is commonly associated with a particular area; rather because the name formation of Persicus, Ponticus, Creticus and the like is aristocratic for historical reasons, while Syrus, Parthus and others are common slave names. (Some names, Persicus for example, are attested as both servile and aristocratic). Neither type need indicate nationality (the aristocratic certainly does not) as slaves were often given such appellations as nick names(15). It is, however, also possible for a writer to use geographical names for the sake of associations relating to the country designated without necessarily making a point about the name bearer's origin or status: Persicus in Juvenal's eleventh Satire acts partly on this level (suggesting 'Persian' magnificence), as does Afra in Martial 1.100: for Afra ... maxima mammarum one should look at Juvenal Sat.13.163. Rather more exclusively verbal in suggestion is the play at AP 5.63 (Argentarius)(16):

Ἀντιγόνη, Σικελὴ πάρος ἦθά μοι· ὡς δ' ἐγενήθης
Αἰτωλή, κἀγὼ Μῆδος, ἰδού, γέγονα.

This category is used occasionally (Sat. 8 & 11; cf. Sat.15) by Juvenal, but it will emerge that it is entirely subsumed under the preceding (social) and the following (verbal) headings.

There are, thirdly, the meanings and verbal connotations of the names. Examples have already been cited and it has been noted that Scaeva and Celsus have names which seem particularly relevant to the themes of the poems Horace puts them in(17).

So/.....

So, Nisbet points out, Seneca dedicates the de Benevolentia to Liberalis, the de Tranquillitate Animi to Serenus(18), and Persicus in Juvenal seems to be a good analogue for this(19).

Some work has been done on the use of significant names in both Martial and Juvenal(20). In particular that of Pyne on Juvenal demonstrates clearly the danger that such etymologies, even if viable, are not played on by Juvenal(21). Caution is required. My criteria for accepting name play are as follows: either the play must be pointed in the text (as in velox ... Lentulus at Sat. 8. 187), or the verbal suggestion must be both obvious and related to the context(22). A parallel is accepted as corroboration.

A fourth source of significance is literary association. Lucilian names recur in Horace(23) and Martial's names recur in Juvenal, as has often been remarked(24). Circe and Polyaenus in Petronius are obviously drawn from Homer, and Circe herself makes such a point about the names(25). The effect of bucolic poetry of creating an enclosed and stable world is fostered by the use of names used by previous writers in the genre. In practice, the fact that Martial often uses significant names causes little difficulty with regard to Juvenal's use of names which appear in Martial. The significance may or may not still apply and the character Martial pegs to the name may be a more important factor. Martial's use of historical characters may cause doubt as to whether Juvenal's use of some names is primarily literary or historical. In such cases if the name belongs to someone mentioned prominently in historical, rhetorical or philosophical

sources/.....

sources, then the name-bearer, in effect, counts as a historical character on whom Martial and then Juvenal drew, whether independently or with literary resonance accruing. If a name is in Martial, but not in those other sources the bearer will count as literary, or at least primarily so.

Historical characters (as opposed to contemporaries) may to a very large extent be regarded as a special case of literary association, for the response of the reader of Juvenal must often have involved recollection of a literary representation of a historical character, as when Sejanus reaches Juvenal's tenth satire with trappings of Tacitus. Furthermore a number of early imperial personages may have had a prolonged afterlife as *exempla* in the rhetorical schools (or in lost historians) without our knowledge. From where, for instance, did Seneca get Pacuvius (*Ep.* 12.8)?

Nevertheless a distinction between historical and literary types, while it may only be a distinction between kinds of literary allusion, has some value inasmuch as the kind of literature is distinct. In practice it tends to be a distinction between prose and verse and qualifications will be supplied as necessary in the second part of this chapter.

Historically significant names are obviously rife in Juvenal[26] and historical *exempla* are part of the rhetorical technique that had much influence on Roman poetry. That it would be possible to use such a type as a protagonist in a non historical context may be demonstrated by reference to the appearance of Trebatius, Damasippus and Catius in Horace[27]. These

characters/.....

characters all appear in Cicero and were of the preceding generation: Catius was dead, perhaps Damasippus was too[28]. Prose dialogues were often set in the past (all of Plato's, many of Cicero's), often just before the death of the host or main speaker[29]. Certainly the conversations are unhistorical[30] and while Horace, as the virtual originator of the verse epistle as a literary form, may have used on the whole real contemporaries for his addressees, the presence of Epp.1.14 (ostensibly to his bailiff, but it is unlikely that any bailiff ever saw it) and Epp.1.20 (to the book) show that latitude was available. This picture of Horace building whole poems around fictitious events in the lives of historical characters known in the literature of the previous generation predisposes one to look favourably on the possibility of Juvenal doing something similar[31]. And of course the historical controversiae, in fact largely fictitious (for example[Quint.] Decl.Min.323; Sen. Contr. 7.2. 7-8; 9.1; cf. also P. Oxy 2400) and the suasoriae and prosopopoeiae (Quint. 3.8.49 f) using both Greek and Roman historical characters provide confirmation. Concessum est rhetoribus ementiri in historiis, ut aliquid dicere possint argutius (Cic. Or. 42)[32].

These, then, are the areas where the search for significance has been made in the following pages. I shall argue that Juvenal derives his names in ways that may give important suggestions about the relationship of protagonist and theme in the respective satires.

The categorisation, then, will follow the divisions used

above,/.....

above, for convenience in the reverse order:-

i) historical types
ii) literary connotations
iii) verbal connotations
iv) geographical connotations
v) social indications

In each case a conclusion (vi) will be added, considering also the possibility of living contemporaries.

As these are not all mutually exclusive I propose to consider each of the protagonists in alphabetical order under all six headings. I have included all the addressees; although some are not protagonists the distinction will hereby be clarified in practice. One other character, Pacuvius, is discussed because of his importance in Sat.12.

II The/.....

II The names of the Protagonists[32b]

Bithynicus: See Volusius.

Caesar (Sat. 7.1):

(i) In the introduction to Sat.7 Caesar is seen as a potential literary patron; the rest of the poem is much concerned with literary matters and patronage of one form or another. The connection between the introduction and the remainder has, however, been criticised as tenuous[33]. Caesar has some relevance for the matter of the poem, although the degree and nature of the connection is not agreed. To some extent the question depends on identification. Recently favoured Caesars are Domitian and the current (Trajan or Hadrian)[34]. If Domitian were intended Juvenal presumably chose him for criticism; if Hadrian, we could not exclude the extraneous grounds of imperial flattery.

Helmbold and O'Neil argued that Sat. 7.88-90 have 'no place in a poem which is dedicated to an emperor'[35], that the tense of respexit (Sat.7.3) is preterite, that various key words and phrases in Sat.7.20-21 are capable of ironic nuances, including 'a sarcastic reference to Statius' (Sat. 7.21, cf. Stat.Silv.5.2.125 ff); they

recognise/....

recognise that 'the derogatory nature of each word or phrase, taken by itself, may be argued away', but lay stress on the cumulative effect. Finally they note that many of the personages treated after the introduction are from Domitian's time[36].

Anderson and Rudd note that the derogatory tone of the words and phrases discussed by Helmbold and O'Niel depends on context, and Rudd feels the lack of a clear indication of irony at the beginning of the poem to give the required context[37]. Certainly the tense of respexit does not give a sufficiently unequivocal indication to provide the required impetus[38]. G.B. Townend has argued that allusions to Calpurnius Siculus provide from the outset 'a devastating send-up of the literary scene of whichever emperor is in fact the satirist's target. Everything else in the poem makes it clear that the target is Domitian'[39].

The allusions to Calpurnius and Statius have been questioned: W.S. Anderson argues that ducis indulgentia (Stat. Silv.5.2.125 & Juv. Sat. 7.21) is conventional; Rudd that the earlier Calpurnian echoes are barely noticeable[40]. That leaves one definite Calpurnian allusion (Sat. 7.27; Calp. Sic. 4.23) and some phraseology which might be derived from Statius and Calpurnius, or conventional. The body of the satire includes Domitianic material, but also Neronian (Sat. 7. 79-80, 90-91) and other[41]. It should be evident that proof on either side is as yet lacking.

The argument of the introduction and the presence of

Telesinus/.....

Telesinus should be considered.

> Et spes et ratio studiorum in Caesare tantum;
>
> solus enim tristes hac tempestate Camenas
> respexit,..... (Sat. 7. 1-3)

That seems to be laudatory, and a contemporary reference is on first sight the obvious interpretation. But the sequel expends irony on the poets in general (the tragedies listed in line 12 cannot but recall the beginning of the first satire) and on Telesinus in particular (his poem is an epic, its quality suggested by the trite periphrasis and topos in line 25). If Caesar has had any interest in contemporary poets, his judgement is discredited and there is some irony here. Neither the source nor the existence of patronage affects Telesinus' composition[42]. To the extent that Caesar is held up as a promising patron of arts, the suggestion that he is encouraging imperial epic (Sat. 7.20 -21) is insidious, especially considering Sat. 4. The logic of the introduction would seem to exclude it being a straightforward dedication to the current Emperor. But it is not a direct attack on a particular Emperor: that would be foolish (if contemporary) or absurd (if Domitian). Rather it uses a form of dedication which can be paralleled[43] to suggest a fault in imperial patronage in general, and it does so subtly and inexplicitly. The semblance of flattery

conceals/.....

conceals the attack at the same time as being a part of it.

If Juvenal is making a general point here the problem of which individual is intended by Caesare is of reduced importance. Indications are confused: the immediate assumption is Hadrian; a possible echo of Statius and the possible identity of Telesinus (s.v. below) suggest Domitian; the allusion to Calpurnius (certain at Sat. 7. 27) suggests Nero. Other allusions may be Calpurnian or commonplace. In either case one may conclude that the introduction to Sat. 7 is a 'forceful burlesque'(44) on the imperial literary scene: Caesar is not Domitian or Hadrian or any one emperor: 'only "Caesar".' The timeless reference is typically Juvenalian(45).

(ii - vi) No further discussion is necessary here.

Calvinus/.....

Calvinus (Sat. 13.5):

(i) The following Calvini are found in the historical sources or inscriptions. Two men of the name Caelius Calvinus (RE Caelius 19 & 20), both too late for Juvenal; the following Domitii: at Frontinus Strat. 3.2.1 (RE Domitius 40); Pliny NH 1 ind 18 as a botanical source (RE 41); Livy 8.17.5 and Diod. 17.62, the consul of 332 BC (RE 42; his son at RE 45); the legate of L. Valerius Flaccus in Asia, 62 BC, mentioned in Cicero (pro Flacc. 31.68; full references at RE 43); Plutarch Sert. 12.3 (RE 44, the father of RE 43); Eutropius 4.22 (RE 46 'irrig statt C. Sextius Calvinus'); Egnatius Calvinus, one of Pliny's sources (NH 10.134; RE Egnatius 13); C. Iavolenus Calvinus (nine agnomina follow), a senator under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius (CIL 14. 2499; RE Iavolenus 1); Iulia (CIL 10. 5578; RE Iulius 561); Iunius who praef(ectus) montis Berenic(idis) audivit Memnonem in AD 72 (CIL 3.32; RE Iunius 63); Iunia Calvina at Tac. Ann. 12.4 (and elsewhere: see below; RE 198); Sextius the consul of 124 BC (RE Sextius 20) and the advocate at Cicero Brut. 130 (full references at RE 21); possibly two early Veturii, one at Livy 9.1.1 (RE Veturius 8 & 9); a Calvina (RE Calvinus 6),

addressed/....

addressed by Pliny (Ep. 2.4)[46]; Eficius the eques Romanus praedives in Suetonius (Gr. 3.2: RE Aeficius).

CIL 2.5659; 3. 5519; 6010,47; 5. 6527, 1888; 8059,134; 5160a; 13. 286; 6.6190,5; 7. 1336, 212-215 increase the list without significant effect.

In a poem concerned with money it is conceivable that Calvina's father (Pliny Ep. 2.4), who died in debt, might have some point (it would be ironic), but he is not prominent. In a mock consolatio L. Calvinus Taurus (if that is his name; it might be Calvenus), author of a book de modo atque ratione tolerandi doloris (Gell. 12. 5. 5) under Antoninus Pius (PIR² C 339) might have been attractive but for the chronology.

In effect none of the persons listed here offers any real purchase in Juvenal's satire.

(ii) In Roman verse the name occurs only here and in Martial; Calvina from Sat. 3. 133 may be added. The character in Martial is an example of a bad poet (7. 90. 3), the woman in Juvenal is the

aristocratic/....

aristocratic recipient of the money and the favours of a *divitis servus*, a type name. Neither individual gives any resonance in *Sat.* 13.

(iii) The derivation of the cognomen (Calvinus – *calvus* = 'bald' (cf. Suet. *Vesp.* 23. 4) see Kajanto, p. 235) does not offer much purchase. Certainly our Calvinus is old (*Sat.*13. 16-17), but the emergence of this fact is too widely separated from the occurrence of the name (*Sat.*13.5) for noticeable interaction (contrast *Fuscine.../... nitidis maculam* at *Sat.*14. 1-2). Rather more germane to the central idea of *Sat.*13 is fraud, but even the proximity of *fallaci* and *fidei violatae* (*Sat.*13.4,6) is unlikely to have elicited a suggestion from *calvor/calvire* (intrigue, deceive), given the temporal provenance of the not over common word (ante class. and in Sallust). Pyne lists the name with this suggestion in his appendix at pp.164f, but no argumentation is given in the body of the dissertation.

(iv) _____

(v) It/.....

(v) It is with the social connotations of the name that we light on a more palpable relevance. The cognomen was associated particularly with a well established branch of the gens Domitia. Suetonius writes, ex gente Domitia duae familiae claruerunt, Calvinorum et Aenobarborum (Nero 1). The connection with the Julian and Junian gentes is worth mentioning as well, and the material in section (i) above supports the idea that the name Calvinus would bear connotations of rank and wealth.(47) It is part of the function of Calvina in Juv.Sat.3.133 to provide a marked social contrast with the scortum mentioned in the following lines. The notoriety of Junia Calvina(48) may have fostered connotations of affluent degeneracy in the name.

Calvinus has lost, in our poem, an amount of money which is both specified and said to be moderate: the suggestion, inherent in his name, that he is of considerable wealth has a direct relevance to this evaluation and a clear effect on our attitude to Calvinus.

(vi) In the view of Courtney(49), Calvinus may have been a real contemporary known to Juvenal, perhaps like the addressees of the three satires following

Sat.13 and comprising the rest of the fifth book.

However, while Calvinus may or may not have been a known contemporary, we have no good reason for supposing him to be so and there are certainly two arguments which encourage scepticism namely the tone adopted towards him and the fact that his name may have been chosen because of its intimations of wealth(50).

As regards the tone, it was possible for Lucilius to abuse people freely by name and for Catullus to do so and also to use as banter language of considerable abusiveness(51); the tone adopted to the addressee in Hor. Epp. 1.17 has also been thought of as critical by some and bantering by others(52). But between Catullus and Horace one can see a toning down and one would not expect the same liberties of Juvenal. The scholiast recognised the tone at Sat.13.33 as inrisive(53).

Difference of genre probably makes comparison with Statius' Silvae and Martial invalid, but in this period, given this tone, one should, I think, assume the recipient is fictitious unless other evidence obtrudes; a parallel for such banter in Juvenal would be very difficult to secure(54). One should also take into account the theory and practice of Martial and Juvenal's stated intent not to criticise

the/.....

the living[55].

Secondly, there are the suggestions inherent in the name ((v) above) that have a function in the poem as a whole. Certainly Horace and Statius play on their (real) addressees' names (but this is generally local play)[56] and it would not be difficult for Seneca, intending to write about benevolentia, to choose a Liberalis as addressee, nor for Juvenal to choose a Calvinus for a poem about attitudes to money: but to have found a Calvinus whose biography included an incident relevant to this theme, and which gave an opportunity for a mock consolatio is less plausible[57].

Catullus/.....

Catullus (Sat. 12.29,37,93):

(i) The name does not occur in Seneca's philosophical works; in Pliny and Tacitus it is used for the republican poet (RE Valerius 123) and for Catullus Messalinus (RE Valerius 127),in Suetonius (Calig. 36.1; RE Valerius 120) as a young man of consular family defiled by Caligula.

In the Elder Seneca only the republican poet is meant. Other than in Sat 12 the only Catulli referred to in Juvenal are the Domitianic courtier (Sat. 4.113 - 122) and the mime-writer (Sat. 8.186; 13.111; RE Catullus 2; for Catulla see (ii) below).

Others of the name (RE Catullus 3,6; Suppl. Bd. 3, Catullus 1 & 2; Clodius 21, Teidius 3; Valerius 121, 124, 125, 127) are disqualified by lateness, and irrelevance, or both; the connection (maternal) between a Catullus and a Hispulla (RE Valerius 125) at the end of the first century AD is interesting given the mention of Hispulla at Juv. Sat.12.11, but excessively obscure and unpointed in the context to be viable. Clearly the mime writer would serve little function in Sat.12, nor would the republican poet provide a relevant type. Of more

recent/.....

recent prominence and of much more prominence in Juvenal than either is the Domitianic courtier.

L. Valerius Catullus Messallinus (cos. ord. AD 73 and cos. 85 both times with Domitian) died between AD 93 and 97/8. Not long after, he is mentioned in contexts suggesting connection with delatio by Pliny and Tacitus (Ep. 4.22. 4 - 6; Agr. 45.1)(58). The notice in Pliny takes the form of an anecdote and such things tend to accrue (even if we can no longer find them). No doubt he also appeared in the lost parts of Tacitus' Histories.

Here we may have possible foundations. A notorious character of obvious wealth and a likely candidate for accumulating anecdotal material provides a general connection with Juvenal's character. His family may lead to progress. Two facts are suggestive.

The Valerii Catulli did well under the emperors and had probably made their money by the exploitation of the empire as negotiatores and publicani(59). Evidence for trade connections (which would suit the republican poet's sometime mercantile language: prosopography and chronology do not at all hinder this possibility) may bring to mind the idea that Juvenal's Catullus may be depicted as a trader. Associations of wealth are

in/.....

in any case helpful here.

Secondly, either before or during the life of Catullus Messallinus the Valerii Catulli had made an alliance, either by marriage or by adoption, with the Valerii Messallae (the family of Corvinus, cos. A.D. 58[60]). If for the Corvinus in this poem Juvenal had any of the Corvini of note in the previous 70 years or so,[61] the conjunction of the two names might have suggested a family connection to a Roman audience. It might be argued that Catullus and Corvinus are simply not depicted as related, but in a poem about captatio Juvenal may have intended the suggestion as a momentary effect.

Catullus is accredited with three children (94 f) and an escape from a storm at sea: perhaps Catullus Messallinus had descendants,[62] but whether he did or not Juvenal was at liberty to create a type which drew on a well known historical character and he would have had rhetorical precedent for such fiction[63]. In this case, indeed, the apparatus of trade might be regarded as an expansion of family history, the three children as a neat structural device for introducing the captatio theme.

(ii) The/.....

(ii) The name Catullus accurs in Roman verse in the following authors: Catullus, Horace, Propertius, Tibullus, Ovid, Sentius Augurinus (see Pliny Ep. 4.27), Martial and Juvenal. Apart from in the last two named, all the references are to the republican poet; Martial almost invariably refers to the same figure (the exceptions are the mime writer (5.30; 12.83) and the character at 12.73 to be discussed below); Juvenal refers to the mime writer and the Domitianic courtier(64). There is, in addition, one figure in Martial who shows promise:-

> Heredem tibi me, Catulle, dicis.
> non credam, nisi legero, Catulle. (12.73)

It is to be noted that both in Juvenal and in Martial the speaker is in some way seen as a potential heir to Catullus. In both cases the speaker rejects the idea (Juv. Sat. 12.93 ff). Perhaps it should not be thought that the connection between the figure in Juvenal and that in one of the 24 poems in which a Catullus is named in Martial is over-tenuous, for we can straightaway dismiss the republican poet and the mime writer in both cases. This leaves Messallinus and Martial's testator as

possible/.....

possible influences on Juvenal's character. It may be that both are relevant, or it may even be that Martial himself in 12.73 is drawing on the association of wealth and unpleasantness attached to Messallinus' name. Book 12 of the epigrams appeared near the turn of the century, perhaps only a few years after Messallinus' death and certainly not far from the time Pliny used him for anecdote (Ep. 4.22); Tacitus (Agr. 45.1) will also have helped make him a potential literary type. (Catulla is used twice (Sat.2.49 & 10.322) by Juvenal as a type name for a promiscuous woman. He is probably drawing on Martial (cf. Mart. 2.50; 6.69; 8.53) who may have drawn the name from the Republican poet(65). In Roman verse the name occurs only in Juvenal and Martial.)

(iii) The derivation of the name Catullus from Cato-catus = 'cunning' (see Kajanto, p.128 & 250)(66), is relevant to the trader type Catullus is assimilated to or depicted as, but this relevance is not brought into play in Sat.12, except perhaps locally at 12.34 - 37 where Catullus imitates the beaver's trick of removing its genitals, and intelligit (36; the line before Catullus is named) may elicit

the/.....

the idea. (Cunning is relevant in a number of will-hunting contexts, but not this one.)

(iv) _____

(v) The names Corvinus and Catullus are intricately connected. The name Corvinus is associated with the Statilii, but in particular with the Valerii Messallae. So too the name Catullus is associated especially with the Valerii. The Statilii and the Valerii Messallae were connected, and we know from the nomenclature of L. Valerius Catullus Messallinus that the Valerii Catulli were also connected with the Valerii Messalae and it will be argued below that Juvenal's Corvinus draws on M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus (cos. AD 58). What emerges is very suggestive: the speaker in Sat.12 addresses a character whose name suggests an aristocrat in decline[67] and deprecates a suggestion that he is interested in the will of a man whose name suggests he belongs to a family which had had a conspicuous rise in fortune: the names may hint (at least momentarily) at

relationship/...

relationship (note Sat.12.115 ff for captatio and family).

(vi) In Sat.12 the speaker tells how he is making a sacrifice ob reditum ... amici (15 - 16), but this cannot be made to support a belief in Catullus as a real contemporary. Amicus is regularly used with irony in Juvenal[68], so that lines 15 - 16 do not prove Catullus was a friend of the poet. What prevents this from remaining an open question is the irony expended on Catullus[69]. As for the sacrifice, one should note the obvious sarcasm of similar language in Sat.6.47 - 49. An escape from a storm may look like a biographical detail, but the storm scene has a long literary tradition[70] and literary thanksgivings for one's own or another's recovery from difficulties or illness are common enough to be used for fiction[71]. Once parody of the storm-scene is taken as an important element of the poem, the combination of elements in Catullus' construction is easy: the three children (Sat. 12.94 ff), as indicated above, are easily taken as a device for introducing a major theme, captatio, via the connotations of the ius trium liberorum.

Given the conventional elements of Catullus' composition (one might add the greedy and recidivating[72] merchant) the irony used on him not only proves him not a friend, but also makes it very unlikely that he is anything more than a poetic construction.

If we weigh against these considerations the possibility of the name drawing on Martial's figure (Mart.12.73) and either the person or the family of Catullus Messallinus we may be encouraged in these doubts, and these will be confirmed if it can be shown that the character with whom Catullus is associated in the poem, Corvinus, was not a real contemporary of the poet.

Corvinus/.....

Corvinus (Sat.12.1, 93):

(i) The famous orator M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus (cos. 31 BC) mentioned in the Senecas, Quintilian, Suetonius and Tacitus (among prose writers; for further references see RE Valerius 261) outshines almost all other holders of the name, but has no relevance to Sat.12. Of the other Corvini the first holder of the cognomen (Val. Max. 8.15.5), the originator of the cognomen Messalla (erroneously at Sen. de Brev. Vit. 13.5; RE Valerius 247), and the conspirator (Suet. Claud. 13.2; RE Statilius 17) are all irrelevant. Corvinus Celer (Apul.Apol.101) is late. In the historical sources only M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, the consul of AD 58 (RE Valerius 262), remains, and this person is conspicuous and relevant.

In Sat.12 lines 93ff in particular give the impression that Corvinus may be seen as a captator and this impression is assisted by the verbal connotations of the name (see (iii) below). M. Valerius Corvinus Messalla, cos. AD 58, is patently relevant to Juvenal's figure, coming from a senatorial family, but of reduced circumstances and requiring a pension from Nero. The circumstances emerge from Tacitus' Annals (13.34), and the fact that he appears there

makes/.....

makes him more ready to hand to serve in Juvenal[73] (the probable allusion to this figure at Sat.1.108 increases the possibility). Courtney points out[74] that no later members of the family held any magistracy. A decayed aristocrat and likely captator makes a satisfying counterpart to Catullus, the rich merchant (?) whose name suggests rising fortunes, and therefore Corvinus tends to confirm the idea that the name Catullus draws on the historical Messallinus.

(ii) The name appears in Horace (O. 3.21.7, the orator) Manilius (1.782, the early hero) and Silius (5.78, a soothsayer). None give purchase here. In Lucan (7.584) the Corvini appear as a heroic and noble family (see (v) below). Of more specific point is the reference at Juv. Sat.1.108 already noticed; there is also the reference at Sat.8.5, where the context concerns the uselessness of a noble name if the holder is degenerate.

(iii) Corvinus is derived from corvus = 'crow' (see Kajanto, p. 334; for Corvus and other cognomina obtained from fauna see Kajanto, p. 85). Crows

appear/.....

appear in contexts of captation as an obvious metaphor from a carrion bird(75). This significance is clear and pointed and emphasised by the proximity of *suspecta*, *Corvine* and *heredes* in *Sat*.12.93-95.

This clarity should not, however, be thought to overpower the social suggestions already canvassed. The suggestions do not conflict, and if the significance of the names of identifiable personages can be played on(76), so can that of the names of historical type figures. Scaeva (Hor. *Epp*.1. 17) provides a control: the social level indicated by the name has a role in the poem (whether or not Scaeva was a real contemporary), but so too does the verbal connotation.

(iv) _____

(v) Corvinus was the *cognomen* of the following consuls:- M. Valerius Messalla (31 BC), Taurus Statilius (AD 45), and M. Valerius Messalla (AD 58) after which the name ceases to be noteworthy. At Lucan 7.584, *Corvinos* has a heroic and noble resonance,/....

sonance, and is set in 48 BC (cf. the reference to Messalla (cos. 31 BC) at Hor. Sat. 1.6.42). The acquisition of the cognomen is referred to in Livy (7.32.15), though there is some confusion there between Corvus and Corvinus. Nevertheless this indicates the air of antiquity about the name. The only other reference to a Corvinus (7.40.3) is to the same man.

(vi) It emerges that several factors combine to make it highly unlikely that Corvinus was a real contemporary of the poet: he is associated with the captator type, and his name so chosen as to help create this association with its verbal and social indications.

When the names of the protagonists in Sat.12 are taken together (they are juxtaposed at line 93) a range of correspondences appears: against the rich and thriving merchant and potential testator should be set the declining will-hunter. A connection between the captatio theme and the idea of familial relationships seems to be played with as well.

Crispinus (Sat. 4.1, 14, 24, 108):

(i) Crispinus is certainly a real historical figure (RE 5) even if his official position has been the subject of much debate. It is not necessary to discuss his identity here[77] since it is enough for the present to recognise that he was a real personage of the Domitianic period.

(ii) In Roman verse the name occurs elsewhere as follows:-

Hor.S. 1.1.120; 1.3.139; 1.4.14; 2.7.45 (perhaps two characters: the stoic moralist, and (1.4.14) the hack poet); Persius 5.126 (not the same person, but perhaps influenced by the bath setting of Hor.S.1.3.137 ff); [Sen] Oct. 731 (Rufrius; cf. Tac. Ann. 11.1.3; 11.4.5; 13.45.4); Silius 15.345, 350 (T. Quinctius); Stat. Silv.5.2 (son of Vettius Bolanus); Mart.7.99; 8.48; Juv. Sat.1.27. Of these, it is likely that Martial's character may be identified with Juvenal's. Not that this gives Juvenal's figure any particular literary resonance. Martial's two epigrams are

light-fingered/.....

light-fingered flatteries which add little useful to Juvenal's picture (the recurrence of purple clothes in Juv. Sat.1.26 and Mart. 8.48 is hardly significant), and Crispinus derives his significance from his historical identity rather than from Martial.

Not but what there is a literary touch about his introduction in Sat.4. Ecce iterum Crispinus is naturally taken to refer to Sat.1.26 ff[78], but it is reminiscent in its wording and abruptness of Horace:-

ecce
Crispinus minimo me provocat ... (Sat.1.4.13 - 14).

Juvenal may be deliberately adverting to Horace with ecce iterum as a suggestion of progression from Horace's ecce. If, despite Sat. 1.26 ff, anyone in an audience was misled, the emphatic monstrum... in the following line (Sat.4.2) would have been an effective surprise[79].

(iii) Crispinus-crispus = 'curly-headed' (Kajanto, p.223): if Crispinus assumed the name for himself[80] it is possible that he chose it because he was curly-headed. If he was not, vile damnum. The name could suggest effeminacy and though this would be relevant on both the occasions on which he is named

in/.....

in Sat.4 (1 & 108), it is only on the second (if at all) that this seems to be brought into play. There is a difference between Crispinus and, for example Corvinus; though both are set in a fictitious context, the connection with history is stronger in the case of Crispinus (because the argument of Sat.4 is directly parasitic on history) and therefore more verbal pointing would be required for any non-historical significance the name may have not to be overshadowed by the manifest associations of history.

By contrast when Crispinus appears in the first satire 3 of the 4 lines allotted to him describe behaviour suggestive of effeminacy and, as usual with historical exempla, his historical context is, in large part, irrelevant. Here (Sat.1.26 ff) it is reasonable to believe that verbal significance of the name has a role in the general effect.

(iv) _____

(v) The social status of the historical character,

rather/.....

rather obscured for us, will not have been unknown to Juvenal's contemporaries. The name, a common one[82], obviously cannot indicate a social level counter to the facts of personal identity. (To the extent that Crispinus' status is relevant to the poem it is expressed, if in hyperbolic terms, at Sat.4.24 & 31 f).

(vi) The identity of Juvenal's Crispinus is not subject to the doubts that occur in the case of type figures or Fuscinus, for example, a possibly real contemporary of obscure identity, and it is on his relationship with Domitian that his significance in the poem depends.

Fuscinus/.....

Fuscinus (Sat.14.1):

(i) Fuscinus is not a particularly common name (see (vi) below) and none are found in Seneca the younger, Livy, Pliny, Tacitus or Suetonius, or in the repositories where one might find historical exempla (Seneca the Elder, Valerius Maximus, or the major and minor declamations attributed to Quintilian). Looking further afield brings nothing to light.

In addition to the fact that no relevant historical type is found for Fuscinus, it is clear that he is not criticised in the satire and has no formal role (person invited or consoled, or interlocutor) or narrative position in the poem. In view of this it is difficult not to answer that Fuscinus was a 'real person known to Juvenal, since it would be pointless to invent an addressee of whom no use is made in the poem'(83).

(ii) The name is otherwise absent from Roman verse.

(iii) Fuscinus-*fuscus* = 'dark' (see Kajanto, p.228):

the/.....

the verbal significance is clearly picked out by nitidis maculam (Sat.14.2) in the line following the address. Clearly this is not enough to link the addressee with the behaviour satirized in the poem and should probably be seen as an elegance like that in Horace Odes 1.22.2 - 8 (Mauris ... Fusce ...Hydaspes[84]) or Epistles 1.4.1 (Albi... candide)[85].

(iv) _____

(v) CIL gives 32 free males, 2 slaves or freedmen and 13 women (Kajanto, p.228), the most prominent being Matuccius Fuscinus (legate of Numidia in ADI58) and Matuccia Fuscina, father and daughter (CIL 8.2501, 2630, 17857, 17858; RE Matuccius 1, 2; PIR² M 374 - 375).

This does not do more than tantalize with the possibility (but no more than that) of Matuccius being a relative of the man in question, and does not enable us to evaluate the social circles Juvenal moved in.

(vi) The/.....

(vi) The only conclusion vouchsafed by this evidence is that Juvenal probably knew someone called Fuscinus. There is no reason to suppose that a Fuscus is covertly intended.

Gallius Sat. 16.1):/.....

Gallius (Sat. 16.1):

(i) As with Fuscinus, Gallius has no function (so far as can be seen) in Sat.16 other than being addressed. Nor do any of the few Gallii mentioned in the sources for historical characters and exempla (see RE Gallius 1 - 7) predispose one to believe that the name was chosen for that kind of reason by Juvenal. (Gallus[86] is no improvement).

(ii) Gallius appears nowhere else in Roman verse. (Gallus appears not infrequently as the poet, but otherwise in Catullus (78, Gallus habet fratres...), Propertius (1.5, 10, 13, 20 (?)) of an acquaintance and (1.21; 4.1.95) a relative[87]. Martial uses the name for epigrams of sexual abuse (after Catullus, no doubt[88]), for a patron type (1.108, 3.27) and for a patron (10.33 Munatius Gallus[89]). There remains a contemporary of Statius (Silv.4.4.20) who has nothing to commend him. Nor the causidicus in Juvenal (Sat.7.144).)

(iii) Neither Gallius nor Gallus provide any verbal

purchase/.....

purchase here.

(iv) None of the suggestions possible for 'Gallic' seem to have a place here, except that of a warlike quality(90). Other names would have done as well and this idea does not seem to be prominent in the immediate context.

(v) No deductions from the name are secure except that it is not outstanding. I count 32 holders of the nomen in CIL, at least one a freedman.

(vi) Presumably Juvenal knew a Gallius, as perhaps Fuscinus also.

Naevolus/.....

Naevolus (Sat. 9.1, 91):

(i) Naevolus does not occur as an historical type; nor as an historical figure who might be so used.

(ii) The name is used in Roman verse only here and in Martial. In the latter for various unlaudable types (1.97; 2.46; 3.71; 3.95; 4.83) of which that in 3.71 & 3.95 is conceived of as a passive homosexual. While this may be relevant to Juvenal's figure (the other epigrams are not), it should be remembered that Juvenal's is not passive. To note the possibility of the combination of active and passive [91] might suggest too close a relationship between Juvenal's and Martial's Naevolus. But all we need suppose is that Juvenal chose a name for his hired active homosexual which was already coloured with pejorative associations of a similar kind[92].

At most, then, Juvenal's Naevolus is a fictitious character so named as to draw on another

literary/.....

literary character[93]. In favour of this is the rarity of the name not only in prose and verse, but also outside literature (see (v) below).

(iii) Naevolus as 'mole/blemish' (see Kajanto, p.246) may have had a certain point for Martial's character(s): the brevity of epigram and the rareness of the name are far from precluding this idea. But there is no word play in these epigrams and Juvenal adds none so that for him provenance seems more important. Perhaps rather more available is the diminutive form itself, suggesting a ὑποκόριστμα[94]. This would not presuppose a real individual named Naevus (or Naevius) and none is forthcoming.

(iv) _____

(v) Naevolus / Naeolus occurs 5 times in CIL (Kajanto, p.246; see also Alföldy, die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia (Heidelburg, 1969) 250).

(vi) The rareness of the name encourages a surmise that its use by Juvenal & Martial alone among Roman

authors/..

authors is not a coincidence. This in turn detracts slightly from any suspicion of a hypothetical contemporary of the poet. (So too does his association with Virro, but this will require argument below).

Dismissing the idea of a real contemporary and of verbal significance, it seems possible to argue that in this restrained and ironic dialogue the name of the interlocutor is meant to suggest at first the urbane follies and vices of Martial's world. This view is supported by the tone of the opening of the satire(95).

Pacuvius Hister/.....

Pacuvius Hister (Sat.12. 111-112, 125, 128):

(i) There is a Pacuvius mentioned (without cognomen) in Tacitus (Ann.2.79) as a legate in Syria in AD 19, perhaps the man who, according to Seneca (Ep. 12.8), held his own mock funeral (RE Pacuvius 3)(96). It appears from Seneca's qui Syriam usu suam fecit that these are the same man. This does not make his presence in Sat.12 particularly apposite, but as the funeral tendencies remain unmentioned in extant sources for a long time before Seneca refers to them, it is possible that other features of his behaviour were similarly remembered. The noble who acquired wealth malis artibus (Livy 23.2.2), Pacuvius Calavius, is attractive but remote (cf. RE Pacuvius 1 and col. 2157). Little can be added on the evidence of the cognomen, but its presence indicates that Juvenal almost certainly had a specific individual in mind. The only Hister in the literary sources who could be at point is a character in Juvenal (Sat.2.58 -59: notum est cur solo tabulas impleverit Hister / liberto, dederit vivus cur multa puellae). The identification is

commonly/.....

commonly accepted: Lafleur[97] believes it almost certain and enlists the support of Lubinus, Ruperti, Valpy, Heinrich, Friedländer and Clausen. Courtney too makes the identification[98]. The rarity of the cognomen (see (v) below) and the recurrence of tabulae in both contexts is not compelling evidence, since in Sat.2. 58 - 59, unlike Sat. 12, Hister's will is that in which he makes a bequest rather than one he hunts. Hardly more forceful is the possibility that in Sat.2.57 there is an allusion to the Antiope of the tragedian Pacuvius. The allusion would be an implicit name play on Hister's other name (which would have to be remembered). Housman suggested there was some such allusion in his apparatus criticus, Courtney rejects it out of hand[99]. It certainly seems that horrida quale facit residens in codice paelex is not enough to recall a specific treatment of Antiope and therefore such an allusion would have to depend on the reader being reminded of Pacuvius by understanding the name via Hister in the following line.

No more than a circular argument is possible here, due to our lack of knowledge. The possibility

that/.....

that Hister in Sat.2.58 is Hister Pacuvius cannot be successfully proved or denied. Not that it would add much to the figure in Sat.12 in either case. The homosexuality is relevant in the second, but not in the twelfth satire. So too with regard to the Pacuvius in Seneca and Tacitus: he may be the same figure, but we do not know enough about him to prove he was, or say why he should have been picked for the twelfth satire.

(ii) Elsewhere in Roman verse Pacuvius occurs as the tragedian (FPL(Morel) p.32 (& 42 ?); Hor. Epp. 2.1.56; Pers. 1.77; Mart. 11.90.6) and as a traitor (Sil.It.11.58 ff, 311), and Hister is not found as a personal name. When Pacuvius makes his appearance at Sat.12.111 - 2 he is linked with a Novius, but while Pacuvius is kept on (125, 128) Novius disappears (so too of Gallitta & Pacius at Sat.12.99 only Gallitta reappears at Sat.12.113). It is at least possible that the proximity of Pacuvius, otherwise such a rare name, and Novius might suggest a tragedy-comedy opposition (like that of Heraclitus and Democritus in Sat.10.28 ff) because of the name of the republican Atellane writer (RE Novius 5) quoted in Cicero (de Or. 2.255, 279, 285): the place Histrum has between

the/....

the two names (nulla igitur mora per Novium, mora nulla per Histrum/Pacuvium, Sat.12. 111-112), although Hister is a by-form of histrio (Kajanto, p.321), on balance seems to hinder rather than aid this idea.

Any tragedy-comedy opposition in these lines might have something of the same programmatic import as the opposed philosophers at the beginning of Sat.10, but it is to be conceded immediately that in its place in the satire it would lack clarity. One should add that the expression would seem very obscure, and that any Pacuvian allusion in Sat.2.57 - 8 is no help here.

(iii) Hister is a by-form of histrio (see Kajanto, cited at (ii) above), but although his behaviour in the satire is patently insincere the connotations of histrio are not specifically relevant enough to be drawn on here without textual pointing, of which none accrues. Pacuvius offers nothing relevant.

(iv) Hister = Histrian (see Kajanto, p.196). But there is no purchase in this for our context.

(v) Pacuvius/.....

(v) Pacuvius is not a rare name (some 40 in CIL 6, some cases in most volumes), but Hister is rare. (CIL = 9 men, 2 freedmen; PIR = 1 senatorial) Very rough social indications can be applied to Juvenal's figure. The Legate of Syria (Pacuvius) in AD 19 lacks conspicuous poverty which is what we should expect for our Pacuvius. The Pacuvii listed in RE tend to support this. Novius clearly suggests nouveau and is used for that purpose by Horace (Sat.1.6.40); perhaps there is an intended contrast with the comparative antiquity of the name Pacuvius. This might possibly be a way of indicating the social indiscrimination of captation, a typical Juvenalian idea.

(vi) Pacuvius Hister is not only subject to critical irony in the later part of the twelfth satire, he is cursed in the final lines (128-130). It seems unlikely in the extreme that he was a contemporary of Juvenal's (especially interesting in view of the nature of the curse: vivat...), butin view of the rareness of the name and the absence of clear significance otherwise in its choice, it is possible that Juvenal had a historical figure or type in mind. If that was the Pacuvius in

Seneca/.....

Seneca and Tacitus (and we know no other of any use here) we cannot say what element of his life made him relevant to Juvenal's purpose. There may also be some significance in the combination of Pacuvius (an old name) with Novius (a name suggesting newness) in the context of an attack on a practice implied to be common to rich and less rich(100).

Persicus/.....

Persicus (Sat.11.57):

(i) Prominent in the epigraphic evidence (see (v) below) is Paullus Fabius Persicus (RE Fabius 120), the consul of AD 34. This person is also one of two known holders of the name in literary sources. (There is also a Persicus mentioned at Juv. Sat.3.221 (see (ii) below)). He is mentioned in Tacitus (Ann. 6.28) as consul in the year of the Phoenix' appearance and, more importantly, by Seneca as thoroughly vicious[101]. He may also have been a friend of Apicius[102] which is of some relevance in a poem about ways of eating.

Courtney, in his introduction to Sat.11, says that the name Persicus suggests luxury[103] and this coheres with suggestions in the poem and with the character of Paullus Fabius.

(ii) In Roman verse the name occurs only here and at Sat.3.221: in the third satire a Persicus is suspected of firing his own house because of the great gifts that the loss of his house has precipitated. The passage (212 - 222) is based on

Martial/.....

Martial (3.52), but Juvenal has changed the character's name from Tongilianus. The luxurious associations of Persicus are obviously relevant since Persicus here contrasts with the poor Cordus, and probably the characteristics of Paullus Fabius are relevant in this context as well as in Sat.11.

Confusion arises because of Asturici (212): either Persicus' house is called dormus Asturici, or Persicus and Asturicus are two separate exempla, or one character is at point and is called Persicus Asturicus (RE Fabius 121). Of these only the third will eliminate the direct connection with Paullus Fabius. Asturicus may be intended to suggest magnificence (Pliny NH 3.28, Asturica urbe magnifica), but it is not attested as a name(104). In any case, the fact that Asturicus is unattested as a name applies to all three possibilities. But no decision is possible. We may say, however, that Persicus in both Sat.3.221 and in Sat.11 bears luxurious associations and that in Sat.11 connection with Paullus Fabius is very highly probable.

(iii) In his third index Pyne has Persicus ='very dry' (siccus). Significant names need not be etymologically cogent, but where there are obvious

associations/...

associations the reader is prevented from proceeding to the arcane and further fetched.

In Sat.11 we know Juvenal is old (203 - 204), whether Persicus is too is unknowable and not important. Food and luxury are important and the existence of Paullus Fabius Persicus (and the absence of any textual support) excludes Pyne's suggestion. Although the obvious import of Persicus on the verbal level is 'Persian' (which is relevant: see below) perhaps one might bear in mind a particular connection between 'Persian' and food in the form of fruit: Persicum is a peach at Pliny NH 15.42 and Mart. 13.46 and a peach tree at Columella 5.10.20; 9.4.3; Pall. 1.3; cf. persica mala and persica arbor, all of which attest to a connection in thought between choice food and Persia.

(iv) Persicus = 'Persian', and hence splendid or luxurious[105]. This idea is enhanced by the contrast between the fare to which the addressee is used and that which the inviter is able to provide (which is common in invitation literature)[106].

(v) The geographical adj. terminating in -icus

as/.....

as a cognomen derived from conquered towns and peoples marks an aristocratic type. This indication is closely related to the link between Juvenal's figure and Paullus Fabius.

The name Persicus is not uncommon in the volumes of CIL (24 occurrences in CIL 6), but the most frequently named individual is Paullus Fabius. At least 8, perhaps 12 of the cases in CIL 6 so refer, and otherwise the name is not common. This has a clear point in a poem in which contrast between luxurious and simple ways of eating are thematic.

(vi) There is a strain of irony running through Sat.11 at Persicus' expense which becomes most abrasive at lines 186 ff. This does not predispose one to believe in Persicus as a friend of the poet (although the form of an invitation implies he is meant to be a friend of the speaker). Furthermore, as Courtney indicates(107), the name is suspiciously apt: historical, geographical and social resonance lies in the name and links the addressee closely with the subject matter. In addition the connotations of the name may be widened by reminiscence of Sat.3 and, perhaps, by

verbal/.....

verbal significance as covered in (iii) above.

Ponticus/.....

Ponticus (Sat.8.1, 75, 179):

(i) The cognomen is not very common (see (v) below). Only three figures of note are found: the friend of Ovid (RE Ponticus; see (ii) below), Valerius Ponticus (Tac. Ann. 14.41; RE Valerius 295) who was banned from Italy for legal malpractice, and Cn. Domitius Ponticus (RE Suppl.-Bd. 12 Domitius 73), on whom below.

The theme of Sat.8 is stemmata quid faciunt? No doubt Tacitus' Valerius may have been worse than his ancestors, but Juvenal has not chosen a name noticeably suggestive of outstanding lineage or outstanding vice; the description of Rubellius Blandus (Sat.8. 39 -40) or the character and lineage of Paullus Fabius Persicus (cf. Sat. 8. 13 - 14) make it clear that Valerius Ponticus is an unlikely choice for representing noble vice. But neither this Valerius nor the name Ponticus suggest one who has lived up to or surpassed his ancestors, although this too could fit Juvenal's theme.

On Cn. Domitius I quote Syme. The cognomen Ponticus 'is absent from the repertorium of I. Kajanto, The Latin Cognomina (1965). The

notion/.....

notion that the Ponticus to whom Juvenal VIII is addressed reflects a triumphal ancestor is endorsed by G. Highet, Juvenal The Satirist (1954), 113, cf. 272. Lesser persons annex cognomina of this type, for example the obscure Cestius Macedonicus of Perusia (Appian, BC V. 49.204). On the other hand, Cn. Domitius Ponticus, legate to the proconsul of Africa in 77/8 (IRT 342) may be a new senator from the province Bithynia-Pontus'[108]. One can do no more than state the possibility and list the advantages which obtain: the name is right, the character fits the important section on provincial government (thematic, rather than a digression; see (vi) below[109]) and to address a poem on the vanity of lineage to a 'new' aristocrat makes sense.

Against this is the man's comparative obscurity.

(ii) The name Ponticus occurs as that of a friend of Ovid (Trist. 4.10.47) and Propertius (1.7.1, 12; 9.26): not relevant. It occurs nowhere else in Roman verse except in Martial, where it is quite common (2.32, 82; 3.60; 4.85; 5.63; 9.19, 41; 12.29).

In/.....

In all cases except 12.29 the name holder is discredited, but none in ways that are clearly relevant for this satire. In 3.60 and 4.85 we have a figure like Juvenal's Virro in Sat.5 and it seems likely that Juvenal knew these epigrams. It may be that vaguely pejorative suggestions and no more are meant to invest Juvenal's character; it is perhaps worth noting that four times out of eight (2.32; 3.60; 4.85; 9.19) Martial's Ponticus is to be thought of as rich or influential.

(iii) _____

(iv) Ponticus = 'Pontic'. Pontus might suggest trade, outlandish distances or foreign royalties(110). Any of these could have been made relevant in connection with the theme of Sat.8, but none offers in fact any real purchase.

(v) Some 40 Pontici are found in CIL (mainly in CIL 3, 6 & 10) and sure conclusions are elusive: as in the case of Persicus, the form of the name

suggests/.....

suggests aristocratic descent. This would fit neatly with the theme of the satire, and with the passage on provincial government. However the name was not borne by any of the old aristocracy[111] while it was borne by a number of *vernae* and *liberti* (cf.esp. index to *CIL* 6). Persicus too was borne by slaves[112], but that name has other associations and a legitimacy (provided by Paullus Fabius) lacking in the case of Ponticus. Passages like *Sat.*8. 74 -78, 138 - 139 and 143 ff have a general application to Ponticus and do not entail that he has noble ancestors.

(vi) Courtney believes that Ponticus 'was doubtless a real person, since otherwise the digression on provincial government would be unmotivated; this is also suggested by 8.87'[113]. *Sat.*8.111 - 113 and 131 - 134 are critical and although they could be regarded as couched in the general second person the whole passage is ironical and does not tend to support faith in Ponticus. Of particular note are lines 128 - 130 where a wife is introduced, for a similar device at *Sat.*11. 186 - 189 is taken by Courtney as helping to confirm Persicus as a

fictitious/....

fictitious character(114).

More important than these considerations is the fact that it seems doubtful whether Sat.8. 87 - 145 is really a digression to which personal facts about the addressee gave rise.

It seems more likely that the passage is integral to the poem (in which case Sat.8.87 - 88 *expectata ... provincia cum te/rectorem accipiet*, is a transitional device and not biography) for three reasons.

(1) The passage is structurally prominent. Sat.8.1 -70 introduce the matter, *virtus* and lineage, 71 - 145 deal with Ponticus and provincial government, 146-268 give examples (good and bad) and 269 - 275 conclude. In this case the provincial section is not symmetrically placed, but comes near the centre of the poem and is followed by *exempla*.

(2) The government of a province may be understood as a high point in an aristocratic career and as aristocracy

is/.....

is one of the key concepts in the satire this has obvious relevance(115).

(3) It might be borne in mind that in the book of which Sat. 8 is a part, Sat. 7 is concerned, in large part, with patronage in the literary sphere, Sat. 9 with amicitia in the personal sphere. It would be attractively balanced if the public expression of such values in the world at large could be taken as an important part of Sat. 8.

It would seem, therefore, that the case for regarding Ponticus as a real contemporary of the poet has not been sufficiently argued. On the other hand, if we ask why else Juvenal chose this name we cannot achieve certainty. The social connotations of the name itself (which would be relevant) are not sufficiently clear, the verbal connotations are hardly more

substantial/.....

substantial. We are left with the unprovable, but rather attractive, possibility that Cn. Domitius Ponticus had been a new senator from Bithynia-Pontus (see (i) above) some half century before the appearance of Sat. 8 and that his 'newness' was a prominent reason for his choice; possibly that Valerius Ponticus' chicanery and demise made him appropriate for purposes of irony.

Postumus: /.....

Postumus: see Ursidius.

Telesinus (Sat. 7.25):

(i) The Samnite Pontius Telesinus (RE Pontius 21) an enemy of Rome in the Social War destroyed by Sulla was renowned for his bravery (Vell. Pat. 2.27.1; Plut. Sulla 29.3). The Samnite leader, C. Pontius (RE Pontius 4), at Caudine Forks (Cic. de off. 2.75; Liv.9.1.2) acquires the name Telesinus in Eutropius (10.17.2), and in the de viris illustribus urbis Romae of unknown authorship (30.1; cf. Ampel. 20.10; 28.2)(116).

The name is rare (see RE Telesinus 1 - 4, all irrelevant) and few inscriptions retail it (see (v) below) so that the epigraphic record is of little value for general deductions, but it may be noted that prominent in the record is C. Luccius Telesinus the consul of AD 66 (RE Suppl.-Bd.5, Luccius 2a). Although he is not prominent in the historical sources (he is used for a consular date by Tacitus (Ann. 16.14) and Dio Cass. (63.1.1) and Frontinus (de Aq. 102) he does receive some attention: he

is/.....

is mentioned as a philosopher by Philostratus (Vit. Apoll. 4.43; 8.7; 8.12) and said to have fled Rome as a philosopher under Domitian (Philostr. Vit Apoll. 7.11)(117).

In the absence of any other relevant Telesinus in the historical and rhetorical record there may be significance in this Telesinus.

Although Telesinus appears in that part of the satire where poetry rather than other forms of literature are at stake, and indeed philosophy is patently omitted from the account of literary activity in the rest of the poem, it may be that there is a special point both in the omission and in the association in a context concerning imperial patronage of an unspecified Caesar (s.v.above) with a figure known to have been forced from Rome because of an Emperor for his literary activity (philosophy). Perhaps the fact that Telesinus was not a poet (so far as we know) and may not have actually written philosophical works should not be allowed to obscure the irony of this association.

(ii) In Roman verse the name only occurs elsewhere

in/.....

in Silius Italicus (10, 148 f; of no relevance) and Martial (3.40; 6.50; 12.25).

Mutua quod nobis ter quinquagena dedisti
ex opibus tantis, quas gravis arca premit,
esse tibi magnus, Telesine, videris amicus.
tu magnus, quod das? immo ego, quod recipis. (3.40)

Cum coleret puros pauper Telesinus amicos,
errabat gelida sordidus in togula:
obscenos ex quo coepit curare cinaedos,
argentum, mensas, praedia solus emit.
vis fieri dives, Bithynice? conscius esto.
nil tibi vel minimum basia pura dabunt. (6.50)

Cum rogo te nummos sine pignore, 'non habeo' inquis;
idem, si pro me spondet agellus, habes.
quod mihi non credis veteri, Telesine, sodali,
credis coliculis arboribusque meis?
ecce reum Carus te detulit: adsit agellus.
exilii comitem quaeris: agellus eat. (12.25)

When/.....

When Martial uses a name more than once, especially in widely separated books, it is not a necessary assumption that he has the same character in mind. But where there is some common element in such epigrams there is a natural cumulative effect. In this case the avarice in respect of loans displayed in 3.40 and 12.25 draws attention to itself, although the character in 6.50 seems different.

If we take Martial 3.40 and 12.25 as establishing a dives avarus type, some significance for the addressee of Juvenal's seventh satire may accrue: Telesinus is warned against the dives avarus as a patron, and the dives avarus who is a poet himself is a noticeable character (Sat.7.36 ff): Telesinus is portrayed as a poet (Sat.7.24 ff) and a recollection of Martial's 'patron' might give an ironic effect.

This possibility is obviously tenuous. When Juvenal uses names which occur in Martial, by no means is there always a connection (see e.g. Ponticus (iii) above). It may be that Juvenal and Martial are independently alluding to Luccius Telesinus[118], and this does not strengthen the possibility of Juvenal eliciting overtones from Martial here.

(iii) Pyne's/....

(iii) Pyne's third name-index (etymologically significant names) gives τέλειος , 'accomplished'. Telesinus might suggest τελέσιος or some such word, and similar plays are posited in Martial for Telesilla (11.97) and Telethusa (6. 71 and 8.51.23 si Telethusa venit promissaque gaudia portat)(119) and Telesina (Martial 2.49) may be similar. In all these cases, however, the context is helpful to the significance, whereas in Juvenal this is not so.

(iv) Kajanto (pp. 50, 52, 187) suggests a derivation from Telesia, which is unhelpful in this context.

(v) Social level is not at issue in Sat.7, nor is the name clearly indicative. CIL provides five free, one consular (Luccius), five women (one perhaps the daughter or sister of Luccius; see RE Luccius 3 and PIR² Luccia 367) and one freedman (CIL 9.2245 at Telesia) according to Kajanto (p. 187).

(vi) Some plausibility can be given to the idea that Juvenal's Telesinus draws on the consul

of/.....

of AD 66, partly because of the ironic appropriatness of his relations with Domitian, partly because of his involvement with some form of literature (although not in fact one treated by Juvenal here) and partly because of the rareness of the name.

There is also the less convincing possibility that Juvenal is alluding to Martial's use of the name (for an *avarus*) to hint that Telesinus, Juvenal's poet, is like the *dives avarus*, a poet himself, who is depicted immediately after the introduction at *Sat.*7.36 ff.

Neither possibility is so compelling that we can exclude that of a wholly unknown minor poet (perhaps like Cluvienus[120]). We can at least exclude a poet friend of Juvenal: *dona Veneris, Telesine, marito* (*Sat.*7.25) is a cliché made more manifest by the epic periphrasis[121] and this and the allusion to Calpurnius Siculus in the following lines[122] clearly characterize the poetry attributed to Telesinus. But for such irony to work with an audience it was not necessary to use as victim a real poet: Telesinus' poem is clearly not finished and may be thrown on the fire before it is.

This/.....

This detail makes it clear that, whoever Telesinus was, Juvenal is not speaking of a poem the audience could have known. In the satire Telesinus may be regarded as a prospective poet being advised against his vocation and against all other literary pursuits. Therefore it was not necessary for Juvenal to choose a name suggesting poetry of any particular kind (the language of Sat.7.22 ff makes all the audience needs to know clear).

On balance it seems that we are far from needing a reference to a poet known at the time in the addressee of Sat. 7, and that an allusion to Luccius in a poem largely concerned with the poor state of literary activity brings up an important aspect: the necessity of not offending the great.

Trebius/.....

Trebius (Sat. 5. 19, 135):

(i) Trebius is a common name (see (v) below), but no historical holder before Juvenal's time can be found who is of great note or relevance. We hear of a Statius Trebius (RE Trebius 1) who handed Compsa over to Hannibal (Livy. 23.1.1 - 3), M. Trebius Gallus (RE 2) mentioned briefly by Caesar (BG 3.7.3; 3.8.3), and Trebius Niger (RE 5) one of the sources of Pliny the Elder, said to be a comes of L. Lucullus, proconsul of Baetia (Pliny NH 9.89)(123). The only consuls of the name have their consulships later than Sat.5 must have appeared (RE 3, 4 (see also Suppl. Bd. 14) and 7). RE 6 and Suppl. Bd. 11, Trebius 1a are irrelevant.

(ii) The only place in Roman verse where the name is found is in this satire.

(iii) Etymology or pseudo-etymology gives no purchase in Sat. 5.

(iv) The geographical connotation (from Terbia)

does/.....

does not offer anything helpful.

(v) 'The nomen "Trebius" is indistinctive'(124). Ten are found in CIL 3, 20 in CIL 5, 24 males and 15 females in CIL 6, 15 in CIL 8, 12 in CIL 9 and 16 in CIL 10. There are spasmodic occurrences in other volumes. The Trebii in the historical record before Juvenal's time do not support a clearly defined social type. The most notable thing about the name for my purpose is the fact that three Trebii reach the consulship, the only three to do so, not long after the appearance of Juvenal's first book of satires at some time between AD 109 and 117(125); respectively at AD 122, c.125 and the ordinarius of 132.

The basic idea of Sat.5 is that of a dinner given by a rich man at which he receives splendid fare, but his less important guests are provided with food of an insulting quality. Trebius, it is to be expected, is poorer than Virro, and this is clear throughout Sat.5 (especially at Sat.5.132 ff). It would clearly add to Virro's arrogance if 'Trebius' suggested aristocratic lineage(126). The name does not suggest this, but also apt would be a name suggesting a family newly in the ascendant.

If/.....

If we accept a date as early as possible (not necessarily the most likely) for the appearance of Juvenal's first book and assume that C. Trebius Maximus (cos.122), L. Trebius Germanus (cos. c.125) and C Trebius Sergianus (cos. ord. 132) were each about forty years old on reaching the consulate there is a reasonable likelikhood that the name did suggest rising, but not outstanding fortune and this likelihood is increased proportionally according to how close to AD 117 book 1 did in fact appear. Some caution is suggested by the possibility that the three Trebii in question were not of the same family (the nomen, as indicated already, is not rare).

(vi) Highet[127] points out that the name is found 'several times in Aquinum (CIL 10. 5528 and 5529)', but the name is too common for this to mean anything. Green[128] writes, 'A Trebius was consul in AD 132, under Hadrian; it is pleasant to think this might conceivably be the same man...' Despite the sentimentality of the statement, this Trebius is more ready to hand than those at Aquinum but (as Lafleur points out[129]) so are the other consuls of the name (more so in fact)

and/.....

and we cannot be confident in choosing any one. Lafleur tends to the possibility of Virro, Mycale and Trebius all being fictitious.

Certainly Trebius' association in Sat.5 with Virro who is plausibly regarded as a historical type (s.v. below), and with a wife whose name, Mycale, looks to be a literary allusion to Ovid[130] does not encourage faith in a specific contemporary (nor does the obvious mockery of Trebius in the poem). Nevertheless it seems that there is here a good case for believing that Juvenal has used contemporary associations for giving definition to his protagonist's social level. (The element of fiction in the situation and in the other characters prevents the satire from being taken as an attack on any individual of the same name).

Umbricius/.....

Umbricius (Sat. 3.21):

(i) Seven Umbricii are listed in RE (nos. 5 - 7 in Suppl. Bd 9), of whom none has any potential relevance except Umbricius Melior, the haruspex (RE 4). In the epigraphic record the name is not outstanding, but one figure deserves brief mention: A. Umbricius Scaurus (not in RE), a Pompeian garum manufacturer. There is a doubtful reference to him in Petronius (77.5)[131], and he seems longe arcessitus for our context. Melior would have been better known to a literary Roman, having predicted a plot against Galba and appearing in Tacitus (Hist. 1.27; and Plutarch Galb.24) for it.

As the only Umbricius at all well known (cf. Pliny NH 10.19, haruspicium in nostro aevo peritissimus), the haruspex was at least to hand for the benefit of Sat.3 and he is cited by Lubinus and recently by Green[132]. Lafleur[133] believes that Sat.3.44 f is a joking allusion by Juvenal's Umbricius to Umbricius Melior. But since Juvenal's Umbricius says there ranarum viscera numquam/ ins pexi Lafleur rejects the idea that Juvenal's character draws directly on Umbricius Melior. This

seems/....

seems over literal: the allusion could well be intended to set off the somewhat vatic portentousness Umbricius evinces in Sat.3. Denial of divination from frogs' entrails is not denial of haruspicy, but it would be tenuous to press the allusion further and suggest anything about the name Melior and its meaning(134).

(ii) The name Umbricius is used only here in Roman verse. Martial has an Umber at 7.90, a bad poet, and a dives avarus at 7.53 and 12.81, but these are of no interest here. By contrast the idea of a comparatively affluent character acquiring a country property redolent of the simple life and given a name resembling Umbricius' has a noteworthy resemblance to the situation in Sat.3; it is to be found at the end of Hor.S.2.2 where Ofellus' agellus has been reassigned to the veteran Umbrenus (who apparently remains an absentee landlord). (Hor.S.2.2.114 et seq.) Differences are obvious and in some ways Ofellus is the proper parallel for Umbricius, but perhaps there is rather more than coincidence here.

(iii) Umbricius' name is suggestive of umbra and of Umbria (for which see (iv) below). Motto and

Clark/.....

Clark argue that the suggestion of *umbra* should be taken to indicate that Umbricius is the 'shade or *umbra*' of old Rome[135], but this has not met with general acceptance, nor is it at all plausible[136]. Nevertheless the relevance of *umbra* has been accepted: Lafleur sees the connotation as 'leisurely retirement and seclusion'[137] and this certainly does suit Umbricius' prospective move to a *gratum litus amoeni/secessus* (*Sat.* 3.4 - 5) and his comments at *Sat.*3.21 ff.

Lafleur relegates to a hesitant footnote the possibility of connecting Umbricius with the use of *umbra* for 'parasite'[138], but in view of Umbricius' lengthy complaints about the abuses of *amicitia* and the thematic value of *amicitia* in Book 1[139] there is more to be said for it.

Within Book 1 there is a progression from Umbricius to Trebius who is explicitly treated as a *scurra* (*Sat.*5.1 ff, 171 ff).

This sense of *umbra* is less common than that of 'rest, leisure, retirement' (sometimes suggesting idleness) and the latter merges into a rather different metaphor which has clear pertinence. Umbricius' speech begins *quando artibus... honestis/ nullus in urbe locus...* (*Sat.*3. 21 ff) and at

lines/.....

lines 41 ff, librum,/si malus est, nequeo laudare et poscere, his complaint is consciously that of an educated man. Umbra, umbraculum, umbratilis and umbraticus may all suggest the school or intellectual pursuits(140), frequently with the implication that these provide no equipment to face real life(141). Here the connection with Umbricius seems patent. He flees the city, which the speaker does not. It is also to be noted that when Umbricius is named in the poem (Sat.3.21) his name is in proximity with artibus honestis, and that his speech has clear affinities with declamation and consists largely of commonplaces(142).

(iv) Umbricius could suggest Umbria(143) (umbricus = 'Umbrian' at Pliny NH 35.197 and Grattius Cyneg. 194). Lafleur concludes 'no well known Umbrian seems to have been our man; furthermore, Umbricius himself claims to have been raised, if not born, in the city of Rome (84 f)'(144). But Umbricius cannot designate an Umbrian (Umber, Umbricus), it can only suggest, at most, Umbrian characteristics (it is a common name in Umbria - but also in Rome and Pompeii) and rusticity (cf. Ov. AA 3.303) is perhaps not relevant enough to remain visible against the umbra connotations; although Umbricius inveighs against

the/....

the sophistication of the city (cf. Sat.3.67 f) and lauds country places (Sat.3. 190 f, 223 f) these suggestions are distant from the appearance of the name.

(v) Twelve males and twelve females of the nomen Umbricius/-a are found in CIL 6, at least two of the former and rather more of the latter of servile stock. Other volumes offer insignificant numbers (less than 30) except CIL 11 and CIL 4 (where the Pompeiian garum manufacturer and his freedmen are prominent)(145). The name is not illustrious and this is compatible with our Umbricius' financial and social complaints (Sat. 3.58 ff, 126 - 189, 281 ff and frequently). But there were many undistinguished names available and therefore other factors (such as the connotations of umbra) are likely to have influenced Juvenal's choice.

(vi) Highet seems to raise the possibility of Umbricius being a disguise for Martial, a possibility he immediately rejects; the idea is also rejected by Baldwin and Lafleur(146). It should never have been raised, but there is a trace of it in Courtney's introduction to Sat.3: 'One wonders if Juvenal

accompanied/.....

accompanied his friend [Martial] to the gates of Rome when he retired to Spain about A.D. 98'[147]. Highet, Green and Rudd and Courtney[148] refer to inscriptions from Puteoli (CIL 10.3141 - 3142) as if to suggest (with varying degrees of hesitation) that this might support a faith in a real friend of Juvenal, despite the distribution of the name. Baldwin writes, 'no one can prove that Juvenal did not have a friend called Umbricius, whose name is inserted honoris causa'[149] Courtney that 'it is impossible to say, and not important to know' whether Umbricius was a friend of the poet or a fictitious character[150].

Naturally the social connotations of the name do not preclude reality, since if Umbricius were real he would have been of the roughly indicated level. But when to this is added the verbal suggestion of umbra doubts increase, because the effect of these suggestions is an ironic detachment of Juvenal from Umbricius (umbra as connected with an inadequate education). The suspicious aptness of the name is perhaps increased by the possibility that an allusion to the person of Umbricius Melior gives an air of portentousness to what turns out to be a speech composed largely of trivial or conventional/..

ventional complaints (and worse). It is this last fact that makes Umbricius very likely to be a fiction: Lafleur has given reasons for believing that the view of Umbricius is carefully distinguished from that of the speaker(151) and therefore Umbricius is either a fiction with a well chosen name, or a contemporary who was hardly likely to be a friend of the poet. If Juvenal knew someone like Umbricius, for the sake of the audience a more indicative name than such a man's would be reasonable. (I hasten to stress that this would not be the same thing as a cover name: it is a case of raw material reworked so as to be more accessible to a general audience).

It is possible to say that Umbricius as we see him is a fictitious character, and this is important, pace Courtney, because it releases us from a predisposition to identify Umbricius' views with those of the poet.

Ursidius/.....

Ursidius (Sat.6.38, 42) Postumus (Sat.6.21,28,377):

(i) Postumus is addressed at Sat.6.21, 28 & 377 and an Ursidius is named at Sat.6.38 & 42. The tendency of recent scholarship has been to regard these as two distinct individuals(152), while early commentators and, more recently, Duff, Green, Lafleur and Ferguson(153) hold that Ursidius Postumus is one character. I defer further discussion until (vi) below.

Ursidius is a very rare name indeed (see (v) below) and there are no prominent holders except a vir clarissimus of the third century AD (RE Suppl. Bd. 14). Adultery and marriage (attributed to the name at Sat.6.38 ff) are common in any age so that any historical character used as a basis for the type would have to be well known as an outstandingly bad (or, for irony, good) husband (or bachelor , or the composer of an Ars Amatoria). For Ursidius the nearest to this that can be found is the Ursus (RE Suppl. Bd. 9 Ursus 3) who is said to have dissuaded Domitian from killing his wife (Dio Cass. 67.3.1). Add that if Ursidius Postumus is one character the presence of the cognomen adds individuality (even if not identifiable) which might restrain the audience

from/.....

from looking to extraneous persons with different names.

As for Postumus, although it is not at all so rare as Ursidius, it does no more to elicit the desired historical type (especially, again, if he is the same man as Ursidius). The Postumi listed in RE (RE Postumus 1 - 10, vol. 22 Postumus 9a, Suppl. Bd. 14 Postumus 8a, 8b) are not relevant, with the possible exception of RE 5 and 6, for whom see (ii) below. Julius Postumus (RE Iulius 403) is accredited with an adultery in Tacitus' Annals (4.12), but even if we knew Juvenal had access to the Annals at this stage(154) such an incidental (and hardly outstanding) detail in a minor character would hardly attract sufficient attention to put him forward as the basis for a type figure. Aebutius Postumus in Livy (4.11.1; RE Aebutius 14) and two Vibii Postumi (RE Vibius 45 and 46) are irrelevant. See also RE Curtius 24 - 26, Rabirius 5 - 6, Poenius and (v) below.

(ii) Ursidius is otherwise lacking in Roman verse. Postumus, on the other hand, is used by Plautus, (Aul. 161 ff, as a hypothetical postumous child, Horace (O 2.14), Propertius (3.12), Ovid (Fasti 4.41

as/.....

as king Silvius Postumus; cf.6.724) and Martial (2.10, 12, 21, 22, 23, 67, 72; 4.26, 40; 5.52, 58; 6.19). The Plautus and Ovid can be dismissed.

Horace's poem is addressed to a Postumus (RE 6) and advises that death is inevitable: linquenda tellus et domus et placens/uxor (O. 2.14.21 - 22). The uxor is unusual and noticeable, but not enough to give this Postumus right of entry to Juvenal's sixth satire. But it may be that this Postumus is also that of Propertius (RE 5) 3.12, where the placens uxor motif is much expanded[155]. Here Postumus and his wife (Aelia Galla; 3.12.38) are treated as a second Ulysses and Penelope. Galla's chastity (3.12.19 ff) is the reverse of what is found in Sat.6, and the piece of levity at lines 15 - 16, ter quater in casta felix, o Postume, Galla! / moribus his (his military dedication) alia coniuge dignus eras is ironically apt for Juvenal's Postumus.

Since this material occupies the whole of Propertius 3.12 it might more readily have given rise to a type[156] and Nisbet and Hubbard[157] suggest that there is a literary allusion to Postumus and Aelia in Sat.6.

'Propertius's Postumus has plausibly been identified with a successful relative of his own: cf.ILS 914 "C. Propertius/.....

"C. Propertius Q. f. T. n. Fab. Postumus / ....", PIR P 754, RE 22.1.986 f'[158]. This does not matter if in Juvenal Postumus and Ursidius are not the same man, but if we are dealing with an Ursidius Postumus, whether or not Juvenal had any idea of who Propertius' Postumus was, he surely knew who Ursidius was, and that he was not the man in Propertius. Although the unity of Juvenal's addressee needs further discussion, it is possible to say here that even if an Ursidius Postumus is at stake the double address of Postume (Sat.6.21, 28) before the other name is given (in a different case) may still be enough to suggest the allusion[159].

Five of the epigrams involving Postumus in Martial use the motif of unpleasant kisses (2.10, 12, 21, 22, 23), with which a Postumus greets people: 2.23 suggests the name is intentionally non-indicative. The behaviour of the Postumus in 2.67 is not very different. A connection with 2.72 seems intended, in which Postumus gets hit in the face. The Postumus in 4.26 is an avarus whom the speaker has avoided visiting for the salutatio. The character in 4.40, now rich and mean, but formerly different, is clearly meant to be the same. In 5.52 a Postumus does give gifts, but boasts about it, but the character in 5.58[160] is surely different. In 6.19 Postumus

is/.....

is a lawyer, so that five characters (at least) seem to be at point, none of any significance for Sat.6.

(iii) Ursidius from ursus, 'bear', does not have any far reaching relevance for Sat.6. I note, however, that a name play on Ursus is perhaps to be seen in Statius(161):-

sed famulum gemis, Urse, pium, ... Silv.2.6.10

hominem gemis ...
... hominem, Urse, tuum Silv.2.6.14-15

... gemitus. sed ... quid terga dolori,

Urse, damus? ... Silv.2.6.93 ff

Perhaps the metaphor in Juvenal's capistro is enough to elicit the ursus element in Ursidius:-

Ursidio? si moechorum notissimus olim
~~olim~~ stulta maritali iam porrigit ora capistro,
...
Sat.6. 42 ff)

Be that as it may, the effect is at most a local one.

Postumus/.....

Postumus = superlative of post, denoting the youngest child, and hence often postumous (cf. Kajanto, pp. 27, 41, 73, 75, 76, 295). This offers nothing.

(iv) _____

(v) Ursidius is such a rare name (see (vi) below that no social conclusions can be deduced. As for Postumus (see Kajanto, pp. 76, 295), the name is not so rare; 77 are listed in the index cognominum to CIL 6, of whom at least 42 bear the nomen Maecius, so that duplication should probably reduce the absolute figure. Some holders of the cognomen were comparatively well known: a friend of Cicero, M. Curtius Postumus (RE Curtius 26), one of Cicero's defendants, C. Rabirius Postumus (Cic. pro Rab.Post.; RE Rabirius 6), Agrippa Postumus (RE Iulius 128; and the imposter at Tac. Ann.2.39). To these may be added C. Vibius Postumus (RE Vibius 45)(162) and two characters in Tacitus, Julius (see (i) above; Tac. Ann. 4.12) and Poenius (Tac. Ann. 14.37), not to mention the Postumi in Horace, Propertius, Ovid and (if any are real) Martial. These disparate examples cannot be used to add social definition.

But/.....

But Postumus' social level is not really important in Sat. 6.

(vi) The conclusions reached so far are as follows. There may be a literary allusion to Propertius' Postumus even if Ursidius and Postumus are one man; a historical type does not seem likely.

Of Ursidius and Postumus we know hardly more than that both (?) intend marriage (Sat.6.28 f, 41-46); of neither is it clear that a prospective wife has been found(163). The distinction between Ursidius and Postumus is hard to draw: if Sat.6. 38 - 59 form a single unit (as they seem to) second person reference is used for Ursidius (Sat.6. 47 f, 51 f, 54) and when Postumus is resumed at line 60 he is only indicated by tibi(164).

What supports distinction? An allusion to Propertius is less easy with an Ursidius Postumus, but not impossible. But neither is such an allusion certain in any case. Postumus on its own is easier as a non-identifying label (as in Martial), but then why should the exemplum, Ursidius, receive so much attention? There is also the different grammar of Postumus (twice in the vocative) and Ursidius (twice in the dative): this I return to below.

On/.....

On the other side may be pointed out the difficulty of separating the two characters (as noted above) and the strange emphasis on Ursidius if he is not the same man as the addressee. Most interesting is the following inscription: C. Ursidius C. f. Vol(tini tribu) Postumus f(ecit)(CIL 11.7860, from Tuder). Ursidius is a very rare name: CIL provides two examples, the other (CIL 10.4826) giving only the name Ursidia. In RE the only entry (Suppl. - Bd. 14) is Ursidius [.....] Manilianus Titul[eius] Aelianus of the third century AD.

Naturally I do not suggest that the epigraphic Ursidius Postumus is Juvenal's addressee, but the attestation of an Ursidius Postumus certainly lends weight to the possibility that the names belong together in Juvenal. If Juvenal supplies nomen and cognomen it suggests he had a specific individual in mind (elsewhere Juvenal only does this with an addressee in the case of Volusius Bithynicus at Sat.15.1). If so he is unknown. As he is unmentioned by any extant author it is possible that he was forgotten soon after his life(165); perhaps here we have a reference to a contemporary or near contemporary individual, since no other reason for his selection is clear.

As to the fact that Ursidius is (mockingly?)

given/.....

given in third person reference, this can be paralleled in Sat. 5. 19 and Sat. 13. 16.(166). The reiteration of both names seems to give a balance that would be hard to account for if different men were meant. It may well be that the cognomen is given prominence (by position and case) so as to effect a reminiscence of Propertius' Postumus before Juvenal completes the identification with Ursidio. And if Postume achieves this we may well ask what Ursidio adds unless Ursidius Postumus was notable very close to Juvenal's own time.

Ursidius (or Postumus) is not of any great importance in Sat. 6, providing some local wit, and accordingly is not dealt with below.

Virro/.....

Virro (Sat.5. 39, 43, 99, 128, 134, 149, 156; 9.35):

(i) Sat.5 tells of an insulting dinner. Virro invites Trebius to his table and eats, but does not serve, sumptuous fare. In Sat.9 Virro is a passive homosexual (35 - 37) and perhaps also the wealthy employer of Naevolus for sexual purposes (see (vi) below). Both poems give a paradigm of amicitia.

The name Virro is very rare (see (v) below). One, two, perhaps three examples can be found;(167) the sources are inscriptions, Frontinus de aquae ductibus 129 and Tacitus Annals 2.48.3. The latter passage gives us Vibidius Virro (RE Vibidius 2; see (v) below), one of a group of extravagant rakes removed from the Senate in AD 17 by Tiberius. This is appropriate to both Sat.5 and Sat.9 and Vibidius has been noted by Highet, Green and Ferguson(168). It should be noted that Virronem is Nipperdey's emendation for Varronem in Tacitus. According to Syme, 'there is a case for letting it stand - Tacitus might have made a slip.' But no doubt the name and character could have caught Juvenal's eye from another source(169).

(ii) The name occurs nowhere else in Roman verse. The occurrence in Sat.9 is certainly given force by

Virro's/.....

(iii) Lafleur [170] cites Syme's treatment of Virro and writes 'but the name may rather (or additionally) be a pun on vir ... ironically appropriate for the homosexual patronus.' The name play cannot apply in Sat.5 for homosexuality is not relevant there: on the other hand the extravagant Vibidius gives point in Sat.5 in his own right. This means that if the name play is present in Sat.9 (where Vibidius and Sat.5 are both relevant) it is additional or secondary.

In Sat.9 Virro is named as follows:-

> nam si tibi sidera cessant,
> nil faciet longi mensura incognita nervi,
> quamvis te nudum spumanti Virro labello
> viderit et blandae adsidue densaeque tabellae
> ~~tabellae~~ sollicitent, αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐφέλκεται
> ἄνδρα κίναιδος. (Sat.9 33 - 37)

The prominence of the idea of manhood in these lines and the arrangement whereby Virro is equated with ἄνδρα make it tempting to see a play on vir here, and this may have been one of the reasons which prompted Juvenal to use the name again [171]. The description of Virro in these lines might more aptly still elicit a play on virosus, 'longing after men', but the

provenance/.....

provenance of the word (anteclassical and late) suggests caution.

(iv) No geographical significance is felt. Virro does not directly suggest any region (unlike Persicus and Ponticus), and if the family was Paelignian[172] it adds nothing to Juvenal's character.

(v) In both Sat.5 and Sat.9.33 ff Virro is to be seen as very rich. For possible social indications in the name we must turn to Vibidius the extravagant onetime senator. The other evidence 'reveals a Sex. Vibidius Virro (perhaps the same person) as father of a Vestal Virgin (IG II / III². 3532; 4161) and she is obviously the one whom Tacitus calls 'Vibidiam virginum Vestalium vetustissimam'[173] (Ann. XI, 32, 2);' Syme also notes Sex. Virro L. f. (RE Vibidius 2) in Frontinus (de aquae ductibus 129) and the Vibidius (RE 1) who appears as a scurra in Horace (Sat.2.8.22). Nothing conflicts with the idea of wealth, but it looks as though were it not for the wastrel himself the name would not recognisably support significance. Since the family wealth was one of the wastrel's attributes, Juvenal must be referring directly to him and only through him (if at all) to the background.

(vi) An/....

(vi) An allusion to the wastrel Vibidius Virro seems plausible in Sat.5 and in Sat.9 35. This plausibility tends to prevent belief in a real contempoary of the poet. If we consider the depiction of Virro in Sat,5 scepticism is enhanced. He is drawn as a sadistic host (Sat.5. 157 ff) who is both extravagant and mean: he provides just the luxuriae sordes that seemed impossible to endure at Sat.1. 139 - 140. On the other hand, although in this poem Virro is associated with Trebius, and Trebius' name might have hinted at a real family beginning to make a rise in the world in the period of composition (s.v. Trebius (vi) above), this is not specific enough to make a fictitious or allusive Virro seem incongruous.

The depiction in Sat.9 is even less flattering, for it is clear from lines 33 - 38 that Virro is a mollis avarus (therefore rich) and the details in the passage (e.g. te nudum spumanti Virro labello / viderit, 35 - 36) would be highly offensive if Virro were a contemporary.

One may reasonably conclude that Juvenal's Virro is a type figure based on the extravagant and outrageous Vibidius we know from Tacitus (although Juvenal may have got him from another source).

There is a necessary question left over.

Courtney/.....

Courtney asserts[174] that 'it is quite unwarranted, with most editors and e.g. Highet ch. 17, to identify Naevolus' patron with Virro.' Virro, according to Courtney, recalls Sat.5, but is no more than an example of lust.

I would find it strange that such an important character as Naevolus' patron remained unnamed (it would be unique in Juvenal). Perhaps the use of an exemplum rather than the specific and relevant name could be attributed to Naevolus' rhetorical and grandiose selfishness, but one should note how much Virro stands out in the poem, in Naevolus' speeches and in this speech in particular.

Excluding mythological and non-human names, there are only very few names used.[175] A complete table with the relevant names underlined will clarify (adjectives from names are included).

1st speech (speaker)		
Sat.9. 1 - 26	Naevole	1
	Marsya	2
	Ravola	4
	Rhodopes	4
	Crepereius Pollio	6 - 7
	Bruttia	14
	Isidis	22

Ganymedem/.....

	Ganymedem	22
	Pacis	23
	Palatia	23
	Cererem	24
	Aufidio	25
2nd speech (Naevolus)	Galli	30
Sat.9. 27 - 90	Virro	35
	Apula	55
	Trifolinus	56
	Cumis	57
	Gaurus	57
	Polyphemi	64
	Ulixes	65
3rd speech (speaker)	Naevole	91
Sat.9. 90 - 91		
4th speech (Naevolus)	Martis	101
Sat.9. 92 - 101	Athenis	101
5th speech (speaker)	Corydon	102
Sat.9. 102 - 123	Corydon	102
	Falerni	116
	Saufeia	117

6th speech/.....

6th speech (Naevolus) _____

Sat.9. 124 - 129

7th speech (speaker) _____

Sat.9. 130 - 134A

8th speech (Naevolus)

Sat.9. 135 - 150

Clotho	135
Lachesis	136
Lares	137
Fabricius	142
Moesorum	143
Fortuna	148
Siculos	150

The relevant names are nine; seven used by the speaker, including Naevolus (twice), of which five occur in the first speech. Naevolus uses only Virro and Fabricius. The other names used by Naevolus are place names and adjectives, racial adjectives (30, 143) and mythological or divine names (the speaker's 'mythological' names refer to temples).

The speaker's use of the relevant names (apart from Naevolus' own) is clearly and uniformly for the purpose of making comparisons; Naevolus' use of Fabricius censor is similar, but his use of Virro stands apart. It lacks the explicitly comparative

syntax/.....

syntax(176) which manifests the exemplary nature of the other personal names and unlike the reference to Fabricius it is not based on an objective historical fact. Virro is a very prominent name in Naevolus' first speech (it is the only personal name there) and the behaviour attributed to him in Sat.9.33 ff is not (as it is with the others) tangential to the matter in hand, but precisely that of Naevolus' patron. Although the opening of the speech is grandiloquently generalised, the generalisation clearly concerns Naevolus' complaints about his patron (see esp. accipimus, 31) and the passage merges unobtrusively with complaints about patronal behaviour which becomes, as it proceeds, inescapably identified as that of Naevolus' patron.

One further consideration should be mentioned. Sat.5 and 9 both concern amicitia and both set down a paradigm involving patron and client. Both poems close their respective books (of which book 1 is much concerned with amicitia). There is an obvious general parallelism which is made explicit by the use of the name and the description of the patron, but the balance would be the more impressive if Virro were to have an equal status as protagonist in both satires. On balance there is nothing to oppose this and several factors which tend to support it. As, furthermore, this is the generally accepted position it is not sufficient to merely assert, as Courtney does, that it is unwarranted.

Volusius Bithynicus (Sat. 15.1):

(i) We know of a number of Volusii (30 are listed in RE and its supplements), but none with Bithynicus as cognomen. In any case the addressee of Sat.15 is not worked into the matter of the poem so that no historical figure would add any significance to the poem. The position seems to be the same as with Fuscinus, and Gallius (see above).

(ii) The collocation Volusius Bithynicus is not known in Roman verse. Volusius occurs only in Catullus (36) as a bad poet, author of some annales. Bithynicus occurs as a name only in Juvenal and Martial[177]. In Martial the name is used four times: 2.26; 6.50; 9.9; 12.78.In all but 6.50 (where Bithynicus is little more than an addressee) the character is a butt for abuse (in 2.26 and 9.9 involving wills). None of this gives any literary resonance to Juvenal's addressee.

(iii) In the context no verbal significance emerges from Volusius. For Bithynicus see (iv) below.

(iv) Bithynicus = 'Bithynian' which is perhaps set off by Aegyptos in the next line (Sat.15.1 - 2) /.....

Sat.15.1 - 2).

This might be compared with the verbal suggestion elicited from Fuscinus (Sat.14.1 - 2 ; see Fuscinus (iii) above), but the contrast is not like the suggestion of including all the known world given by omnibus in terris, quae sunt a Gadibus usque/ Auroram et Gangem (Sat.10.1 - 2)[178]. Here then, may be a pleasantery, if Volusius Bithynicus was a real contemporary known to Juvenal. Equally, if this is the case, the effect may have been an accident not worth avoiding.

(v) If social level were at point in Sat.15 it would be possible to suggest that Volusius Bithynicus was a fictitious character whose names were meant to suggest wealth and aristocracy: the Volusii were distinguised from Augustan times to the end of the century[179], and Bithynicus has the aristocratic form of Persicus, Ponticus and other such names, and is attested as a cognomen of the Claudii (CIL 6.27411; 9.1414) and of the Pompeii (s.v. RE, Bithynicus). The fact that the combination of names is unparalleled need not have caused undue worry. But social level is not at point in Sat.15.

If, on the other hand, Volusius was a friend of

the/.....

the poet no convincing arguments can be made. Against the principal Volusii three arguments occur. Firstly the cognomen, not attested for the family, which favoured Saturninus. If that is not cogent, it should be remembered that the last consuls of the family came in AD 87 (RE 19) and 92 (RE 21) some forty years before Sat. 15, and belonged to an aristocracy which was being displaced[180]: even if the identification were positive (it is not) it would be of limited value. Thirdly, most forcefully, if the addressee of Sat.15 were an acquaintance or friend, the criteria for choosing him are not those for choosing a significant name (recognisability): he might or might not be a relative of the Volusii Saturnini (RE 5, 15 - 21), of the Volusius Iulianus (RE 13), mentioned in the will of Dasumius[181], of Volusius Maecianus (RE 7) the jurist who became prefect of Egypt around AD 161. Nothing precludes Juvenal's friends from having been of some wealth and there is no case for supposing the opposite, but Volusius does not help identify Juvenal's social level, nor would any common ground between Volusius, Fuscinus, Gallius and perhaps even Ursidius Postumus.

(vi) Volusius is not used in Sat.15, nor is any significance of any note drawn from his name. In addition,/....

addition, he is provided with a cognomen, which fails to help us identify him (or to add any literary (or other) resonance), but seems intended to make a real person identifiable for Juvenal's audience. This supports the likelihood that Volusius was a contemporary of no special note and he may join Fuscinus and Gallius.

Ursidius Postumus is the only other major figure in Juvenal also provided with nomen and cognomen (if the names belong to one man), but he does have a role of some substance in Sat. 6 and so the terms of the argument are not equivalent.

Conclusion/.....

Conclusion

The evidence accumulated in the dissertations of Lafleur and Pyne suggests strongly that Juvenal favoured historical names for *most* of his characters. His own words are far from conflicting (Sat. 1. 170 - 171). It seems that his practice as regards the protagonists conforms by and large.

Given the particular selection of names Juvenal used for his protagonists and the contexts in which they appear our knowledge is such that a convincing estimate of the importance of verbal significance is feasible. We have lost much classical poetry (Turnus is worth bearing in mind here) so that there is less certainty in assessing the degree of Juvenal's use of literary names. The same reservation applies to historical types. These may come from historical writers, the various sources used by historical writers or from exempla used in oratory and rhetoric. In each of these areas there are large gaps in our knowledge. The evidence for Pacuvius' mock funerals comes from Seneca, but he refers to them as well known a considerable time after the event(182). For more recent historical figures oral accounts may have been used (and may never have been recorded by historians).

For social significance we have both the literary sources and the epigraphic record. In addition to the problems in

both/.....

both areas there is the fact that a family's eminence is not static. The Augustan aristocracy was defunct in Juvenal's time and yet he uses as general practice the names of the dead, sometimes the long dead. Persicus suggests wealth in Sat. 11, but largely because of Paullus Fabius; Calvinus, I have argued, suggests the same in Sat. 13 because it is in the historical record as a distinguished name. Corvinus is often used to recall the greatness of former days: the family had since declined, and this time (Sat.12) Juvenal uses the name to suggest precisely that fact via a specific holder of the name. Social level is not always relevant to a satire, and when it is, the content of the satire often helps. Thus in Sat. 5 Trebius is clearly not distinguished, but would like to be so (Sat.5.137 f). The epigraphic record alone provides some evidence that the name is well chosen. But in Sat. 8 social level is again relevant, but the evidence for the name is not substantial. Nevertheless the weight of evidence favours the belief that most of the protagonists were chosen, but not from living contemporaries of the poet.

Of the addressees three have no role in the respective poems save that of addressee (Fuscinus, Volusius Bithynicus and Gallius) and no significance of any substance can be extracted from their names (nor can they be much used for supplying evidence about Juvenal's social level). On the other hand the names of most of the protagonists appear to be chosen so as to fit in with the theme of a poem or to cast an ironic light on it.

The names have been examined for possible significance in five ways. It has become clear that names such as Ponticus, Trebius and Telesinus do not on the whole make any use of the geographical connotation, although the geographical sense of Persicus helps the character's air of magnificence and wealth. Verbal significance is not very prominent. Calvinus may have a connection with calvus, but it is not used in Sat. 13. Fuscinus (fuscus) is played on, but the verbal play has no far-reaching validity. There are two cases where more than this may be believed. Corvinus, on other grounds seen as a potential will hunter, has a name recognisably connected with corvus which is known as a metaphor in contexts of will-hunting.

Secondly Umbricius' name, it has been argued, suggests umbra which has a range of metaphorical uses in varying degrees applicable to Umbricius' characterisation.

The significance of names which appear elsewhere in Roman verse cannot be dealt with precisely. Postumus' name in Sat.6 may be an ironic reminiscence of the happily married Postumus in Propertius (3. 12). Virro, Persicus and Corvinus are used more than once in the satires, but only in the case of Virro is it certain that the first use (Sat.5) explains the second (Sat.9) in any sense. The Persicus in the third satire and the Corvinus in the first do not conflict with the protagonists of Sat.11 and 12, but it would be hazardous to say much more.

In a similar way some of the uses of the name Corvinus in other poets draw on the associations of the heroic past which are travestied in Juvenal, but these uses cannot be isolated

from the place the name has in the historical tradition. Similarly Juvenal uses Calvinus and Calvina without any cross-fertilization, but because in both cases he is drawing on the same external associations.

Names common to Juvenal and Martial are still less certain. Juvenal certainly uses material from Martial, but sometimes changes the names in the process (Sat.3. 212 ff from Mart.3.52). On the other hand when the same name is found in both authors it is often far from clear that the same character is intended. One factor in this question is that Martial often uses the same name for disparate characters.

In this way Catullus is used for three characters by Martial, and only one of them (the one in 12.73) is at all relevant to Juvenal's twelfth satire. Still more doubtful are Naevolus and Telesinus. Against these three uncertainties one should set those cases where the fact that the name appears in Martial seems plainly irrelevant (Postumus, Ponticus and Calvinus).

So far it has appeared that verbal significance can usefully be credited in the case of Umbricius and Corvinus, geographical in that of Persicus. Literary associations (from poetry) may have an incidental compatibility (Persicus and Corvinus) or make a minor contribution (as with Crispinus), but the cases where more than this can be said are doubtful (perhaps Postumus and Catullus are the most convincing). The associations derived from historical personages and from the social connotations of the name are altogether more convincing. No individual Calvinus comes to mind in Sat 13, but the name does suggest

affluence/....

affluence which is directly relevant to the theme in hand. In Sat. 12 both Catullus and Corvinus have clear social indications, and there may be an additional value in thinking of specific individuals of those names. Crispinus is incontrovertibly a historical type. Persicus and Virro are plausibly so regarded as well (but Persicus certainly and Virro probably give relevant social indications whether or not this is so). Trebius is a rather special case in that the name seems to derive its social relevance to Sat. 5 from much closer to the time of composition than in the other cases, not from a single individual, but in a more general way. Telesinus and Ponticus are probably to be referred to historical figures, but Umbricius is more doubtful (but his name is verbally significant anyway). The greatest opacity is in the case of Ursidius Postumus, for if the names belong together (and this cannot be proved, despite epigraphic evidence) the use of the two names would seem intended to identify a real man, but we have no notion who he was.

The probability of most of the protagonists' names being significant is clear; Naevolus and Ursidius Postumus are the weakest cases, followed by Telesinus and Ponticus, but the nature of the evidence is such that certainty in all cases could hardly be expected.

CHAPTER 4

SATIRE THREE

Juvenal's third satire is the first in which a single character other than the speaker is of major significance for the whole poem. Umbricius delivers a speech which is avowedly a complaint directed in large part against foreign vices. It purports to be a moral statement, and on this level there is a good deal which can be taken seriously(1). Nevertheless there are disquieting features in the speech.

The disquieting elements can be explained in different ways. Duff saw Juvenal as a sincere critic, but commented in general that 'it must be admitted that Juvenal is, in some degree, tilting against windmills',(2) Mason explains the oddities by suggesting that Sat.3 is something like a parody of declamation(3). This gives due justice to the clear elements of wit in the poem and maintains a separation between Umbricius and Juvenal, the poet who manipulates him. In this case the opening section and the use of Umbricius as mouthpiece will be a convenient device for establishing the narrative situation of departure from Rome. Mason is careful to keep the poet and the stances assumed in the poem distinct(4), but Lafleur goes further and argues that the distinction is indicated by the poet by means of the treatment of Umbricius(5). He holds that the opening of the

poem/.....

poem does not indicate Juvenal's friendship with Umbricius and sees irony in the use there of apparently friendly language.

The arguments adduced on Umbricius' name (s.v. Chapter 3) can be applied here. An allusion to Umbricius Melior (if it is present) could suggest the accuracy or the portentousness of the speech in Sat.3: the interpretation would depend on the interpretation of the whole satire. But Umbricius may suggest, via umbra, the inadequacy of the rhetorical education in the face of real life. This might go towards confirming Mason's view of the relationship between Umbricius' speech and declamation, but it is not solely dependent on the character of the speech. From the beginning of the poem we know Umbricius is leaving Rome, apparently in horror at the state of Rome, and that the speaker is not leaving. We may assume that the poet and also most of the audience were not following Umbricius' example. In addition the educational aspect of the umbra metaphor may be activated by the proximity of the name to the complaint quando artibus honestis nullus in urbe locus (Sat.3.20 - 21)(6).

Lafleur rightly notes the precedent set by Horace(7). In the second book of satires there are three poems (Sat. 2.3; 2.4; 2.7) with a form very like that of Juvenal's third satire, and one (Sat. 2.2) with a somewhat similar form. In all cases Horace depicts himself as the recipient of (or mouthpiece for)

another/.....

another figure's views and characterises his attitude to them. The attitude varies: in Sat. 2.3 and especially 2.7 it comes to be openly hostile; in Sat. 2.4 it is ironically simulated admiration; in Sat. 2.2. it is a not wholly convincing espousal. In no case does Horace unequivocally identify the views of the protagonist with his own (8).

Mason's position and that of Lafleur are not as mutually exclusive as may seem at first sight. Both see Umbricius' speech as highly rhetorical and as unsatisfactory as a moral statement. But itwas not necessary for Juvenal to undermine Umbricius in the introduction in order to show awareness of the oddity of Umbricius' position: in 1965 John Holloway published an adaptation of Sat.3(9) in which it is clear both that the views of the Umbricius-figure are short sighted and that the speaker is in agreement with these views. In Horace too we have seen the speaker apparently endorsing the protagonists' views.

This point is worth stressing since one might ask why Lafleur's Juvenal (he adds confusion by not distinguishing clearly between Juvenal the poet with Juvenal the speaker) should be seeing Umbricius off, especially since Courtney sees no distinction between Juvenal and Umbricius: ' the fact that Juvenal must be assumed to be entirely in sympathy with

Umbricius,/.....

Umbricius, who to us does not seem to be a wholly faultless character, shows that he did not possess the intellect to diagnose the problem presented by urban society in his day,..'(10). This sentence raises an additional question. If Umbricius does not seem to us 'a wholly faultless character', would that view have been agreed by a contemporary audience?

The arguments from literary precedent and from the significance of Umbricius's name adduced earlier may be taken as indicating a possibility. I propose to consider Umbricius' speech in order to ascertain how a contemporary could have received it ~~and how it can be related to the satires where Juvenal does not use an interlocutor,~~ and to consider what influence the introduction could have had on the audience's attitude to the speech. The evidence from the satire itself has been treated at some length by Lafleur and I use a number of the same arguments(11).

It is clear from the views already cited that there is sufficient suitable material in Sat.3 for it to be taken for a serious moral statement. Such a view has been common if not universal from the medieval period until this century. It is equally clear that to a modern reader this view is suspect. It is not a foregone conclusion that a faulty Umbricius will give himself away or be given away by the poet from the beginning of his speech (as evidenced by Horace's second epode and

Heine's/.....

Heine's 'Das Sklavenschiff', for example), but it is important to see what impression he does give of himself at the outset.

In lines 21 - 29 Umbricius expresses his resolve to leave Rome, his destination and a motive. The resolve and the destination have already been indicated by the speaker in terms that need returning to later, but the explicit statement of motive is new. The three elements, of course, go closely together. What impression do they make? Solemn and dignified, it seems.

> 'quando artibus' inquit 'honestis
> nullus in urbe locus, nulla emolumenta laborum,
> res hodie minor est here quam fuit ...'
>
> (Sat.3. 21 - 23)

The opening lines do not suggest greed or any form of obsession with money. Perhaps in retrospect we may change our minds, but what we have here is a rhetorical fullness (there is a chiastic arrangement from artibus to laborum and rhetorical repetition in nullus ... nulla) and a sentiment (and expression) not radically different from that of Pliny,

ἀλλὰ τί διατείνομαι.

in ea civitate, in qua iam pridem non minora praemia, immo maiora nequitia et improbitas quam pudor et virtus habent? (Ep. 2.20.12) or Quintilian, quis inter haec litteris aut ulli bonae arti locus (12.1.7)[12]. While solemnity is only one

possible/.....

possible effect of rhetorical style the stance assumed here, giving regard to artes honestae, supports it. Reinforcement comes with proponimus (24), both because of the use of the plural (again with cedamus, 29) and because of the linguistic register of the word(13).

If there is anything incongruous about Umbricius' destination revealed in the introduction to the poem, it is not obvious in the emotively weary and poeticised (and therefore unrealistic)periphrasis for Cumae (25). The weariness (fatigatas) is set off by the following reference to Umbricius' old age, but prima and recta (and line 28) prevent this idea from excessive emphasis. Again the rhetoric (dum...dum...dum,26 - 27) and periphrasis (27) maintain solemnity. It may turn out to be oversolemnity, but that is not the same kind of fault in itself as short sightedness or hypocrisy(14).

The following passage (29 - 40) has been thought indicative. Vivant Artorius istic / et Catulus. What precedes makes it obvious that Artorius and Catulus are not examples to be lauded and the subsequent generalisation explains why: The 'skills' which enable such people to survive in a place in which Umbricius cannot are:- turning black into white (Umbricius seems to be using a cliché(15) which may indicate his indignation, but does not indicate the substance of it with any intellectual grasp), the ability to take on building contracts, the maintenance of

rivers/.....

rivers and harbours, flood clearance, undertaking and fraudulent bankruptcy(16).

Of these lines Highet(17) writes, ' It is strange how bitterly [Umbricius] despises transactions which we should think honourable and creditable, and which many of the Romans themselves must have approved... But Juvenal speaks from the point of view of the old fashioned gentleman...' Similarly Courtney writes(18), 'if a man of comparable position today were faced with the problem of making a living in a large city, his answer in most cases would be to look for work; but this notion never occurs to Umbricius, who on the contrary despises those who do this (31, 76 even though some of the associated occupations were not considered artes honestae 21).' Umbricius' decision to retire from Rome is critized by Highet, with acknowledgment of attitudes probably rare among leisured Romans, and by Courtney, of modern attitudes. Both assimilate Juvenal and Umbricius.

The decision to leave Rome is a central feature of Umbricius' speech. One should be clear that this cannot have been regarded as ridiculous or blameworthy in itself. Horace's withdrawal from Rome was not absolute (Epp.1.8.10; 1.14.6 ff), but he set up the Sabine farm as a personal and moral ideal (Hor. Epp.1.18.104 ff). Martial's retirement to Spain was not regarded by Pliny, who gave the viaticum (Pliny Ep. 3.21), as

culpable/.....

culpable or eccentric and his poem to Juvenal from Spain (Mart. 12.18) shows somewhat Umbrician attitudes. But Martial himself may have regretted his decision (Mart. 12 praef.) and this may be significant: the retirement that becomes an exile is not a unique experience and there are a number of places in Latin literature where frequent change of place is regarded as a futile attempt to escape the self(19). Retirement to the Campanian coast was by no means rare (Silius Italicus and Statius provide examples), political frustration was sometimes the motive(20) and one might note Umbricius' disenchantment with the possibility of becoming a governor's aide (Sat.3. 46 - 48).

This cannot be regarded as conclusive evidence against Umbricius. People do leave cities because of financial difficulties. Courtney's 'man of comparable position today'(21) might well leave Kensington forPevensey or Bournemouth for the same reasons. Umbricius' age (Sat. 3.26 f) should be taken into account, and for this factor one should compare Silius,who novissime ita suadentibus annis ab urbe seccessit seque in Campania tenuit ac ne adventu quidem novi principis inde commotus est (Pliny Ep.3.7.6).

The opening lines of Umbricius' speech are similar to moral objections to the city raised by Pliny(22). Here his objection to liars and to those listed in lines 31 - 32 can be interpreted

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as a moral objection if praebere caput domina venale sub hasta (33) is emphasised as a ground for the objection rather than simply an extra item on a list of unsavoury practices[23]. This motive for withdrawal is not without attestation as well. In addition to the Horatian and Virgilian rural ideal one can cite SeptimiusSeverus who stayed in Campania from about AD 205 to the end of his life, because (it seems) he feared his son would be corrupted at Rome (Herodian Hist. 3.13.1).

Umbricius' objection to necessary occupations is not as obviously discreditable as has been suggested. He may be criticizing the 'rat-race'[24] and refusing to have any part in it. If doubts remain that there is an element of mere snobbery in these lines they are seasoned by the sequel.

In Sat. 3. 34 - 40 Umbricius expands on those who find it easy to get contracts and make fraudulent bankruptcies: quondam hi cornicines notaeque per oppida buccae ... (35) represents a grievance based on a rigidly stratified social view. Such a view is not confined to the ignorant, and prejudice against rich and powerful freedmen, for instance, may be found in Tacitus (e.g. Hist. 1.4.3). Such views are not infrequent in declamation[25], but given the nature of the controversia, the other side is also to be found (Sen.Contr. 1.6.3 f). The commonplace on ancestry has a good lineage in rhetoric and philosophy[26] and the theme

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of Horace Sat. 1. 6 provides a solid indication that Roman attitudes give more attention to birth than to merit, but that this could be criticised. Juvenal elsewhere provides passages representing both a view like that of Umbricius (e.g. Sat. 2. 129 f) and a very different one (Sat. 8, stemmata quid faciunt?). The contrast indicates irony or opportunism : in either case it leaves us free in considering Umbricius.

In rhetoric, philosophy and satire one can find appeals to a value which is held to override that of birth or nationality. On this ground it begins to look that the criticisms made against Umbricius are not merely anachronisms. And Umbricius shows this mentality again and again, sometimes losing coherence(27).

The remainder of Umbricius' opening section is somewhat tangential. There is a transition from the socially inflexible complaints of 34 - 40(28) to a personal application: quid Romae faciam? The list of Umbricius' disqualifications implies a haphazard and widespread corruption in Roman life. It suggests Umbricius' anger; it does not suggest very clearly what Umbricius is actually disqualified from - except that he is unable to become a governor's aide. The general corruption of governors is not strictly to the point in a critique of the capital and it is legiti-

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mate to believe that part of Umbricius' characterisation is disgruntlement at being unable to acquire such a position. This would be a corollary of the social rigidity already discussed with regard to Umbricius.

An explanation for Umbricius' incapacity in the provincial sphere follows (49 - 57). It is partly plausible, but one sided[29] and clearly exaggerated (quis nisi is all inclusive). Not but what the dangers involved in frightening the important are well known and commonly attested for the imperial period[30].

Nothing in this first section of Umbricius' speech supports a belief in his profound grasp of the ills of society at the time. On the other hand nothing is blatantly and unequivocally derisible. If Juvenal were parodying a certain point of view we would naturally expect to find parallels for Umbricius' views (they would constitute the object of the parody) and we do find them. But it might not be certain, without the benefit of the spoken performance, whether the speech was a parody or an example of confused commonplaces. The introduction to the poem will have to be considered, but it may be significant that so much of this section of Umbricius' speech can be taken in both ways (and this continues through the poem).

Much of Umbricius' speech seems to be a mixture of the true and the confused or even absurd. Umbricius complains of

the/.....

the oriental influence in Rome:-

> iam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes
> et linguam et mores et cum tibicine chordas
> obliquas nec non gentilia tympana secum
> vexit et ad circum iussas prostare puellas. (Sat.3.62 - 65)

The corruption of language and customs is a comprehensible complaint and the concept of corruption from foreign influences is easily paralleled. Here it is particularly relevant to note Lucan: nulloque frequentem / cive suo Romam, sed mundi faece repletam / cladis eo dedimus,....(7.404 - 405)[31]. No doubt the musical complaint would have seemed reasonable to many[32], and the common application of 'Asianism' and moral terms (effeminacy etc.) to prose rhythm and style in Rome and the association of oriental instruments with dubious rites and immorality[33] indicate that the complaint would not have necessarily been thought ludicrous. Furthermore the comment on oriental prostitutes had some kind of justification in their proliferation in Rome[34]. But these complaints have a strongly literary air. As well as Lucan one might recall (and contrast) Propertius: et quas Euphrates et quas mihi misit Orontes, me iuerint (Prop. 2.23. 21 - 22). Much of Umbricius' speech, in fact, has such a literary air and one should remember his expressed interest in honestae artes (Sat.3.21 ff) and the

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poor (?) poet Cordus (203 ff). While this is of interest and may turn out to be significant in the light of the introduction, one should note that if Umbricius' objections are to be taken as based on a serious moral perception they are not wholly in accord with the view given at Sat. 3. 131 ff.

> divitis hic servo cludit latus ingenuorum
> filius; alter enim quantum in legione tribuni
> accipiunt donat Calvinae vel Catienae,
> ut semel aut iterum super illam palpitet; at tu,
> cum tibi vestiti facies scorti placet, haeres
> et dubitas alta Chionen deducere sella. (Sat. 3. 131 - 136)

The Roman view of the life of luxury which involved meretrices was fairly lax. Detur aliqui ludus aetati; sit adulescentia liberior[35]. A certain amount of partial or circumstantial criticism is found[36], but one can easily find wholesale condemnations in moralistic vein[37], sometimes connected with the theme of corruption from abroad[38]. Consistency between the moralistic stance of Sat. 3. 62 ff and the more personal and social dissatisfaction at Sat. 3. 131 ff may be salvaged by stressing the difference between lupae (3. 66) and meretrices (like Chione) and 'drawing a line' between the two. Two comments apply here. Firstly, the need to draw such a line amounts to a demonstration (in Juvenal's poem) of the nature of the moralising as disguised social categorisation.

Secondly,/.....

Secondly, the moralising tradition often criticised the life of luxury (of which both *meretrices* and female musicians like those of *Sat*. 3.62 ff were part) and in such cases the more pejorative terms do not imply that *meretrices* are exempted: *lupa* and such words do not, in these cases, designate social sub-classes, but indicate a more emotive linguistic register. Umbricius' separation of the emotive *lupa* (66) and the more or less uncritical (here) *scortum* (135)[39] shows the intellectual looseness of the moralising manner.

The awkwardness between the stances used in *Sat*.3.62 ff and 131 ff may be considered in the light of the attack on hypocritical moralising made by Laronia at *Sat*.2.37 ff. But in any case Umbricius' comments on Chione stand somewhat oddly in their context. Having attacked the Greeks for their successful obsequiousness Umbricius makes a transition to Roman lack of success - in honourable services, one might reasonably expect, but the connection is subversive. *Si curet nocte togatus / currere* (*Sat*.3.127 - 128) suggests no excessively different behaviour from that attributed to the Greeks[40] and the next example is that concerning Chione. Thereupon Umbricius moves into a well-worn *locus*: *da testem ... protinus ad censum, de moribus ultima fiet / quaestio* (*Sat*.3.137 ff)[41]. The whole tenor is familiar from literature[42]. Roman literature tends to be very literary, but in Umbricius' speech this

quality/....

quality is conspicuous[43], partly because of the peculiarity which derives from selection and juxtaposition. Both Sat. 3. 131 ff and 137 ff have a clear literary background, both feature complaints about paupertas. But beyond this there is a strain manifested by the contrasts in subject matter and literary provenance.

The whole section, Sat.3.126 - 189, elaborates the disadvantages of paupertas[44] and balances and contrasts with Sat.3.58 - 125 (they are almost equally long) on the advantages of the Greeks. This structure emphasises the weakness of logic[45]. It might be noticed in particular that the structure gives some enhancement to the difference between Sat.3.62 ff and 131 ff, since both passages occur near the beginning of their respective sections, and both stand out as somewhat digressive or unexpected in the context. Sat.3. 131 ff does not quite suit the more moralistic colour of its context; Sat.3. 61 ff involves a distinction between 'real' and 'other' Greeks unnecessary here[46].

Juvenal seems to have been at pains to let Umbricius reveal himself as a highly literate, but no very penetrating critic. Or to have taken no pains to conceal that that is what he was. There is certainly humour in the poem, but it is not enough to point out passages which can be taken seriously

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in order to argue that there is not only humour. The confusion of serious and trivial will be one of the humour's devices. Both the serious and the trivial have parallels: is Juvenal then, making a piquant blend of moralising rhetoric and Martial? If some unifying characteristic can be discerned, to which the serious and the trivial can be related[47], one may reasonably suppose that Juvenal is not simply making such a blend, but has the unifying idea in mind: to burlesque or to expound.

Incoherence may be a sign of parody, or sincerity. It may be that Juvenal is characterizing Umbricius as a sincere but inadequate commentator. A unifying element in Umbricius' speech should suggest that Umbricius is sincere and that the speech is not just Juvenal's opportunistic arrangement designed as a frame for as many jokes as possible[48]. The contrast between town and country may be dismissed. Not because it had already been subverted (as long ago as Horace's second Epode): that merely clarifies Juvenal's intent. But because, although a significant part of the third satire, it does not provide a cohesive force. Certainly Umbricius complains of the ills in the city and lauds the small Italian town[49], but his opposition to the town is not deeply rooted or intrinsic to the nature of urban life. The contrast with a passage in Virgil is revealing:-

O fortunatos nimium, ...
agricolas! ...
si non ingentem foribus domus alta superbis
mane salutantum totis vomit aedibus undam,
nec varios inhiant pulchra testudine postis
inlusasque auro vestis Ephyreiaque aera,
alba neque Assyrio fucatur lana veneno,
nec casia liquidi corrumpitur usus olivi;
at secura quies ... (Virg.G.2.458 - 9, 461 - 7)

The topic of the salutatio recurs in Umbricius' speech, but the generating values are different. In Virgil the practices and appurtenances of the city are condemned as unnatural and inherently corrupt. While there may be a hint of something like this in the introduction (Sat.3.18 - 20) the criticism is absent from Umbricius' speech(50). Umbricius' complaints have taken a lifetime to come to a head (Sat.3.26ff) and he clearly does not object to the city on principle (note Sat.3. 84 - 85). Rome has, he suggests, degenerated Sat.3.62 ff), but much of Umbricius' viewpoint is based on his lack of resources(51). So that Umbricius' attitude to the town & country distinction is subject to other factors, and therefore does not in itself give a motivating force to the speech.

Nor will Umbricius' attitude to foreigners serve fully,

for/.....

for it too is unstable. From the rhetoric of quamvis quota portio faecis Achaei? (Sat.3. 61) the impression seems to be given that true Greeks are but a tithe of all the foreign dross in Rome. And yet the Greeks in general (and not the 'orientals') are the main target of Umbricius' criticisms: non possum ferre, Quirites/ Graecam Urbem (Sat.3. 60 - 61). On the other hand Chione shows that not all Greeks are objectionable (by contrast nothing is made of the nationality of Ucalegon at Sat.3. 198 ff) and Umbricius accepts the divinitas of Cordus' Graeci libelli. There again, some Romans are objectionable(52). The P. Egnatius Celer alluded to as an example of Greek nastiness (the digressive introduction of this example indicates the strength of Umbricius' feelings) at 114 ff may not have been seen as particularly Greek(53). The deprecation of the term 'oriental' advised by Syme(54) is valid in this context as well(55).

The criticism of Greeks is not to be ignored. It is clearly an important, though not generating, idea in Umbricius' speech and one should remember how Greek Rome was and had been. A mass of evidence is on view from Augustan times(56). While the power of Greek freedmen in the imperial court may have been eyed askance, and more, by the senatorial class and Nero's interest in Greek culture used as an item in his abuse, the Campanian coast was a constantly attractive resort from at least the late Republic.

Umbricius' complaints may well sound old fashioned to some. It is perhaps worth noting that declamation (which is a constant undertone in Umbricius' speech) was common ground: Seneca the elder quotes Greek and Latin sententiae and it is clear that the declaimers did not rigorously segregate themselves by nationality(57).

There is, however, a central idea in the speech which comprehends all the details. Money is a constant subaudiendum. And frequently more than that. The opening of the speech is an explicit complaint about lack of returns, and Umbricius' personal disadvantages are the theme of the 1st section (Sat.3. 21 - 57). The subsequent two sections concern the advantages of Greeks (58 - 125) and the disadvantages of the poor Roman (126 - 189), and in the latter paupertas is strongly emphasised. In the following section (190 - 231) the comparative costs of town and country life are noted (223 - 231) and the major part of the paragraph is the contrast between the poor Cordus and the rich Persicus. Subsequently more dangers and unpleasantness in the city: exacerbated by lack of resources (Sat.3. 235, 239 - 243). Finally the city at night, mainly involving the ebrius ac petulans, qui nullum forte cecidit(Sat.3. 278 ff) who is a danger for those unable to afford sufficient protection (Sat.3. 282 - 288).

This theme is closely linked with social complaints;

Umbricius is ousted by his inferiors from lucrative positions (Sat.3.29 f, 153 ff), and also by his paupertas (Sat.3.164 ff, 239 ff). The affluent are not subject to the city dangers Umbricius complains of and it is an indignity to be jostled in the crowd (Sat.3.244 f) or to be treated as a friend of a sutor (Sat.3.293 f) or a beggar or a Jew (Sat.3.296 f).

As already argued, many of Umbricius' details have parallels elsewhere, but are also rejected elsewhere. But lack of money is a central comprehensive idea in the speech and the selection of details reveals the inconsistencies entailed by this idea. That, perhaps, indicates that Juvenal is satirizing it. But one can go further: not only is there a central theme, there is also a unity of treatment deriving from the continuously literary treatment(58) and a coherent characterisation of indignatio. It may be worth pointing out that an allusive and rhetorical texture can be used to characterise a speaker as derivative (so the amusingly hackneyed quality of many of the speeches delivered in Petronius' Satyrica). As for indignatio, it is in the programme of Juvenal's first book (Sat.1.79) and evinced in the first two satires and it would, Anderson argues(59), have been immediately recognisable as a piece of role playing, and all the partiality and bias would be understood.

This, then, seems to be the impression Umbricius' speech would be likely to make on Juvenal's contemporaries, if it

were/....

were a free standing item. Perhaps some uncertainty about how far Juvenal supported Umbricius. But the speech is not free standing, being preluded by twenty lines of narrative introduction. As has been observed this passage foreshadows certain of Umbricius' developments(60), thus *incendia lapsus / tectorum adsiduos ac mille pericula saevae / urbis* (*Sat.* 3. 7 - 9) recur in *Sat.* 3.190 - 314. The climax of these lines, *augusto recitantes mense poetas* (*Sat.* 3.9), is not to any degree taken up in the speech. It is, then, the speaker's tangential reaction to the previous lines. Mason held that the final line destroyed any serious point in the section(61). But perhaps it is not necessary to agree. The *incendia*, *lapsus* and *pericula* were real and known. That the poets recite the inanities familiar from the beginning of the first satire does not obliterate the (hyperbolic) vision of a ruined city in flames, but insinuates that the poets blithely persevere (even in the off season) with their epics, elegies and tragedies, despite the inappropriateness(62). They are not, perhaps, one more item on the list: *et* may make a pair with the *pericula*. That is to say, the combination of *mille pericula* and poets who are troublesome (*augusto recitantes*), but also unaware of what is apposite, is part of the nightmare and increases the audience's 'sense of a need for real values'(63). Certainly as a prelude to Umbricius' speech the whole passage,

Sat. 3. 5 - 9, /.....

Sat.3. 5 - 9, is disconcerting. Firstly it is only the later part of Umbricius' speech which is hinted at. In that section he deals with dangers and although his view is affected by social bias the subject matter is in many ways less trivial than that of the first part (Sat.3. 21 - 189). The early part, concerned more directly with social advantage and disadvantage, is introduced not by the speaker(64), but by Umbricius himself (Sat.3. 21 ff)(65). Secondly the poets form no part at all of the objects of Umbricius' complaints. Cordus (Sat.3. 203 ff) may or may not be the poor poet of Sat.1. 2(66), but he is certainly a literary-minded character and the sympathy Umbricius shows him may be slightly undermined by Sat.3. 7 - 9 (note especially that he suffers an incendium)(67).

Somewhat similarly the description of Egeria's grove (Sat.3. 17 ff) may correspond with Umbricius' description of the rustic theatre (Sat.3. 172 ff), but involves 'the germ of a theme ... not developed'(68). The speaker complains of loss of numen, but Umbricius shows no sensitivity to this in his account of the social occasion in the country. Lafleur takes this as an implied criticism of Umbricius(69); perhaps he is right, for numen is a different idea to the anthropomorphic trappings of mythology and is not necessarily discarded even if the details of Numa's connection with Egeria are made fun of (Sat.3. 12 ff).

The/.....

The Greeks, against whom Umbricius speaks at some length, do not appear overtly in the introduction. Instead the Jews, who are not one of Umbricius' targets (despite Sat.3. 296): they are mentioned with the apparatus of a contrast between the splendid past and the present decline:-

> hic ubi nocturnae Numa constituebat amicae,
> nunc sacri fontis nemus et delubra locantur
> Iudaeis, quorum cophinus fenumque supellex
> (omnis enim populo mercedem pendere iussa est
> arbor et eiectis mendicat silva Carmenis),
> ... (Juv. Sat.3. 12 - 16[70])

But the sordid turn that is given to Numa and Egeria disrupts this contrast and disturbs the somewhat Umbrician sentiment. Umbricius treats Numa respectfully (Sat.3. 138 f) and this too distinguishes the two personae[71].

The tendency, then, of the introductory lines is to cast doubts on Umbricius. This, if anything, suggests that Umbricius is not simply a figure of fun - why point out his faults rather than just let the audience have its laugh? But the first lines add indications which are more prominent, because of their opening position, and more certain because of their nature. Given this, all the indications which follow and have been discussed above are confirmed and strengthened.

Quamvis/.....

Quamvis digressu veteris confusus amici
laudo tamen, vacuis quod sedem figere Cumis
destinet atque unum civem donare Sibyllae.
ianua Baiarum est et gratum litus amoeni
secessus. ego vel Prochytam propono Suburae;
... (Juv. Sat.3. 1 - 4)

Veteris confusus amici / laudo appear to manifest personal affection and respect at first blush. It would not be necessary to prove that the speaker's feelings were different from this. The features of the introduction observed above would still have some effect on Umbricius' speech which in itself, it has been argued, is unlikely to have sounded like a straightforward harangue against recognised evils. What Holloway does in his reworking of this satire(72) provides a possible alternative model. But the opening words are less assertive than appears.

These lines have been dealt with in some detail by R.A. Lafleur(73). The main points in his account of Umbricius brought forward are: the literary background to Umbricius (i.e. the Horatian interlocutors), the largely negative evidence of prosopography, the rhetorical manner of his speech and a reading of the introductory lines made in the light of the other evidence on Umbricius. Namely, that amicus is likely to be ironic in Juvenal(74), that veteris may just signify Umbricius'

age/.....

age or that his social function (amicus - cliens) is of long standing[75], that confusus may just mean 'puzzled'[76], and that Cumae was a Greek town and Baiae notorious for vice, whereas Umbricius complains non possum ferre ... / Graecam urbem (Sat.3. 60 - 61) and criticises (apparently) vice (e.g. Sat.3. 65 - 66). Laudo should be added: the verb is used 19 times in Juvenal's poems[77]; ironic in varying degrees, in all cases but 8.58 (of horses) and 14.182 (which is set in the past: Marsus dicebat et Hernicus olim ...,14. 180 - 181),and especially ironic in the first person present indicative (Sat.4.18; 12.121).

Since the speaker reports Umbricius' parting words, it follows that the introduction is a subsequent reaction to them, so that Lafleur's account represents a reasonable summary of the results accruing from retrospect of the two parts of the poem. But it is important to realise that the introduction gives the audience its first impression of Umbricius. While it is true that amicus, confusus and laudo may be given a different tone by the context the only information given at this point to effect the necessary comparison is Umbricius' destination. Shortly we learn that Rome is lonely, wretched and dangerous. On those grounds Cumae might well be argued as preferable. That Baiae had a bad reputation is undoubtable and well known[78], but it is ludicrous to suppose that the entire population of the whole area was vicious and that everyone who went there was corrupt.

The/....

The Campanian coast had long been a popular resort and Cicero held a Cumaean villa(79). Horace in a piece of role-playing talks as a habitual frequenter of Cumae and Baiae (Epp.1.15.11 ff) which puts the two places on a similar level. Although Statius called Cumae quiet (Silv. 4.3.65), Domitian's road to Puteoli may well have changed that by Juvenal's time(80).

While Statius and Martial give some indications that the critical tradition is one sided(81), the most useful author is Seneca. In his 55th. epistle he describes a villa near Cumae, with praise for the villa and the scenery, but not for the owner. He says, in his own part: hoc tamen est commodissimum in villa, quod Baias trans parietem habet: incommodis illarum caret, voluptatibus fruitur (Ep. 55.7(82)), which indicates that Baiae could be treated in other ways than the moralistic, but also that to enjoy the facilities (of all kinds) residence at somewhere like Cumae was reasonable(83). Most significant, however, is the 51st. letter in which he critises Baiae at length for its moral laxity, for he couples it with Canopus and writes, itaque de secessu cogitans numquam Canopum eliget, quamvis neminem Canopus esse frugi vetet, ne Baias quidem: deversorium vitiorum esse coeperunt (Ep. 51.3(84)). Even in a moralistic passage it is realised that one is not compelled to vice by presence at Baiae. So too amoenitas (cf. Juv. Sat.3.4) need not be, but is sometimes pejorative(85).

As/.....

As far as the opening of Sat.3, then, we have a statement that emphasises Umbricius' proposal to go to Cumae. The loneliness of Cumae seems exaggerated(86), but it cannot but have been less crowded than Rome. The proximity of Baiae is brought to the attention. It would have been well known to Romans, so that some point would have been sought. At this stage one could interpret this along the lines of Seneca's non pejorative statement: Umbricius' destination incommodis illarum caret, voluptatibus fruitur (Sen. Ep.55.7). As already indicated various reasons could offer for such a move. But Cumae would not be the place to go if one hated, feared or despised Greeks, it being the oldest Greek colony in Italy, and the whole area being heavily Greek influenced. Similarly for one who takes a highly moralistic attitude, Baiae can not be regarded as an attraction to be mentioned as an adjunct to Cumae. Thus, as Umbricius' speech progresses, it becomes patent that his proposed destination is highly suspect and regarded as such by the speaker. This impression is completely confirmed when Umbricius lingers over the names of various small Italian towns(87). This being so, the audience would look back to the opening lines with a new attitude, or rather, with the information as to Umbricius' destination in mind, the audience would very quickly come to regard Umbricius' harangue as undermined in advance. The disenchantment with the possibility of becoming a governor's aide (Sat. 3. 46 - 48) might easily recall the political frustration that could be

attested/.....

attested for this journey(88). Epicurean quies was a characteristic of the area(89).

I have tried to establish that Umbricius is set up in this satire as an exponent of common, but ill thought out, views and that Juvenal subtly and continually undermines them from the beginning of the poem. Umbricius' speech might on its own have passed as mainly unobjectionable by some of the audience; but the introduction establishes a perspective whereby it is clear that Umbricius is revealing himself as a critic quite inadequate to the problems he faces. The characterisation is a very real gain: Juvenal enabled himself to make mock of the moralistic and rhetorical tradition with all its simplistic attitudes at the same time as demonstrating an example of the product of the tradition, namely, Umbricius. Common values are exploded. 'No doubt in some of [Juvenal's] readers the moral sense was too trite for discomfiture; but some, at least, must have squirmed, not so much because they recognised themselves amongst his monsters, but because they saw their values indicted, as archaic and inadequate'(90).

CHAPTER 5

SATIRE FOUR

Between them, Crispinus and Domitian dominate the fourth satire, although the members of the council listed in the later part have considerable importance as well. The satire falls into two clear and distinct sections (at least) and there is a problem of unity, which is also a problem about the relationship between Domitian and Crispinus.

An obvious factor in the unity of the poem is the motif of fish shared by both major parts of the poem. This common element does link the two protagonists, but not in a perfectly straightforward way, for the motif itself, fish, has a place both in the moralistic and satiric traditions in general, but also in anecdotal, historical and panegyric material concerning Emperors.

Cato's association of the price of fish with moral decline was not unparalleled(1) and fish is common in denunciatory contexts(2). The fishponds were an item of luxury for castigation from Republican times(3) and the notices are reinforced with Domitian's accession(4). Domitian is said to have possessed fish which answered his call(5) and to have encroached on the vivaria of others(6).

In/.....

In fact the fish motif is especially relevant to Emperors. Presents of rarities to Emperors are known[7] and fish are found in this context[8]. Rarities might be displayed by men of rank[9]. As Griffith points out, 'from casual court-gossip about a present of this kind to the Emperor it requires only a modest effort of the imagination to arrive at the motif of the consilium'[10]. The creation of a special dish (Sat. 4.131 ff) had a precedent in Vitellius[11], and indeed the frivolous council was foreshadowed by Nero, who summoned quosdam e primoribus viris to show them a water organ in AD 68 when Vindex was in arms in Gaul[12].

Behind the council lies also the epic tradition, and this too has a specifically imperial connotation. Councils of the gods are regular and had been parodied by Lucilius and Seneca[13]. Juvenal's council is not one involving gods, but divinity is not far distant. Imperial divinity is visible, or hinted at, from the Augustan period and becomes prominent in silver epic[14]. Statius, for instance, treats Domitian as Jupiter[15]. With regard to Juvenal there are indications in this area over and above the epic paraphernalia. Martial produced an epigram concerning fish at Baiae and Domitian (Mart. 4.30) in which the unwary fisherman is advised away: the fish are sacred (3), a former fisherman was blinded for his sacrilege (8 - 13). Not only that: the fish answer to Domitian's call. That is suggestive of godhead[16].

The/.....

The idea, or something very similar, turns up in the fisherman's speech in Juvenal: 'ipse (= rhombus) capi voluit' (Sat.4.69)[17]. Again in a speech quoted in the poem is Montanus' suggestion that Domitian needs a Prometheus to make a dish for him, implying divinity. The third item does not come from a speech and makes the element of flattery manifest: 'ipse capi voluit' is followed with the comment, quid apertius? et tamen illi / surgebant cristae. nihil est quod credere de se / non possit cum laudatur dis aequa potestas (Sat.4. 69 - 71).

Fish, then, is a motif which suits satire and imperial panegyric, and therefore suits both the main divisions of the fourth satire. From line 28[18] the poem is strongly coloured with epic conventions and style, with an invocation to the Muses (Sat.4. 34 - 36[19]) near the beginning[20]. The style of the two divisions is in marked contrast, a clear example of tone being adapted to suit the protagonists. Crispinus, the minor figure, is suitable for satire (and has already appeared in Sat.1.26 ff in this role[21]); Domitian demands imperial epic; or parody thereof, being an Emperor. The juxtaposition of the different modes certainly indicates that imperial epic is flattery and false[22] and it is neater because of the shared motif of the large fish.

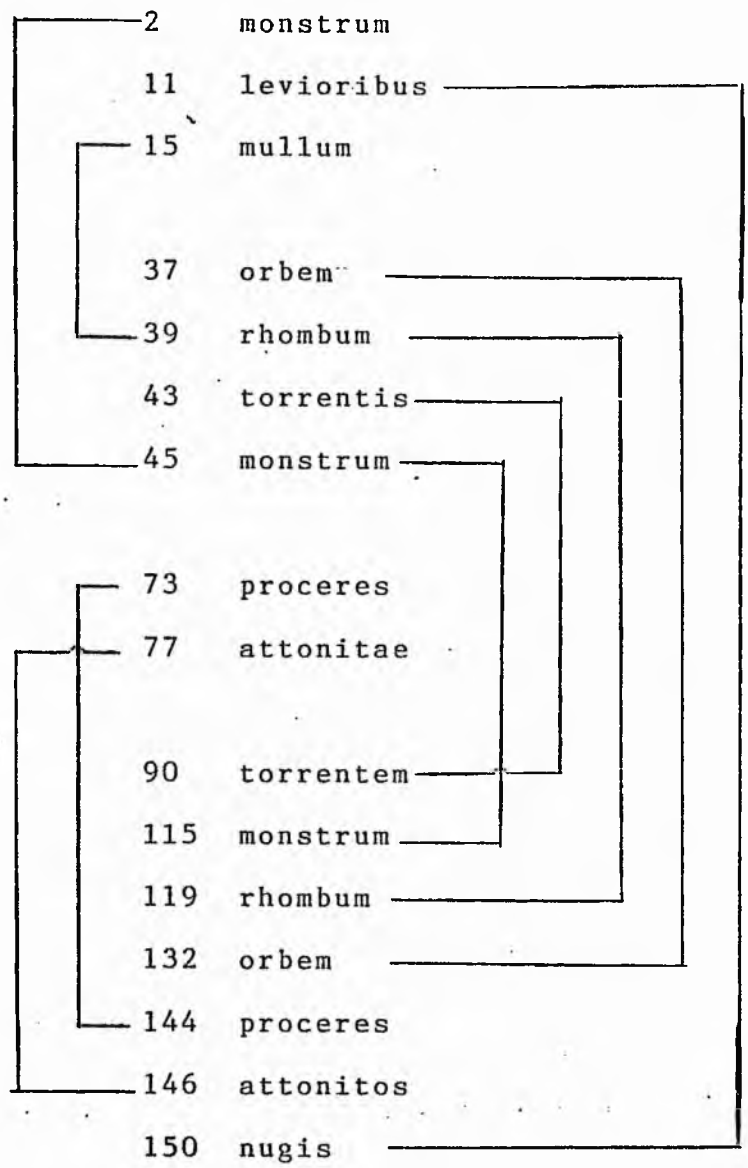
This emphatic observation of literary decorum is the most obvious factor in distinguishing the two divisions of the poem,

and/.....

and since the fish motif is at home in both it does not advance us much on its own. But the linking between the two episodes is much more detailed than this and suggests that the poem involves more than the contrast of tones and a concomitant literary point. Two aspects have been noticed: the ring composition of the poem, and certain resemblances between Crispinus and Domitian(23). It is convenient to consider the ring composition before proceeding to an account of the places held by Domitian and Crispinus in the poem, and the relationship between the two.

There is a clear development from crimes to trifles and from trifles back to crimes(24), but there are also verbal links. The preponderance of these echoes supports the bipartite division of the poem, although some introduce an element of further complexity:-

2 monstrum/.....



Crispinus' trifles correspond to Domitian's (levioribus, 11; nugis, 150), his fish with Domitian's (mullum, 15; rhombum, 39). Crispinus' and Domitian's fish are each styled as a monstrum. These balances link the two parts. Another group make lines 37 - 150 a clearly marked unit. The world is like the fish (orbem, 37, 132); the fish is named at its discovery and at

the/.....

the council (39, 119); a third item is added to the assimilation of Domitian's fish (monstrum) and his courtier, Crispinus (monstrum), when it turns out that Catullus, too is a monstrum (Sat.4.2, 45, 115). The final pair of echoes mark off the council from the capture and presentation of the fish: proceres (73, 144), and attonitae (77), of the city under one of the courtiers, but also attonitos (146), of the courtiers under Domitian. This change in reference is brought to the attention by proximity to proceres in each case(25).

Griffith(26) expresses hesitancy about Anderson's reliance on, inter alia, thematic keywords(27): 'it is common literary experience that echoes of words and ideas within a relatively short stretch of an author's work may quite often be unconscious rather than deliberate.' They still have effects, conscious or not, and if they form patterns which agree with patterns visible for other reasons, or if the connection of ideas is prominent or particularly suggestive they are correspondingly more likely to have been intended. Of the repetitions in question some merely reinforce a visible structure (rhombum at 39 and 119). Some have this and an additional function: it seems clear that orbem used for Domitian's fish (132) and for the world (37) points a connection (enhanced by the related verbs laceraret(37) and conciditur (130), and the position of the fish as subject of imperial council(28)). Perhaps the use of torrens (43 and 90) is also pointed. So too, perhaps the

triple/....

triple use of monstrum (2, 45, 115) for Crispinus, Domitian's fish and Catullus.

The contrast in tone and the preponderance of the verbal echoing emphasise the separateness of the two main parts of the poem. The links (Crispinus and Domitian, the motif of fish, and the sequence outrage: trifles:: trifles: outrage) act on a different level. It is evident that the distance between the two parts is fundamental to the poem. It is also clear that the links spring from the figures of Crispinus and Domitian. It is time now to consider the treatment of Domitian and Crispinus and to consider the function of these links. Domitian is hinted at in the first part of the poem, perhaps twice. Et tamen alter / si fecisset idem caderet sub iudice morum (Sat.4. 11 - 12). Iudice morum recalls Domitian's title, censor perpetuus, from A.D. 85[29]. He took the role enthusiastically[30]. If not collusion, then, it is suggested that at least Crispinus has a free hand outside the confines of the aula. The other allusion is less simple. It has been argued that the reference to the terram subitura sacerdos (Sat.4. 10) indicates Crispinus' involvement in the affair of about A.D. 93 in which Cornelia was buried alive and her lovers, or alleged lovers, beaten to death in the Comitium, and therefore also indicates that Crispinus was one of those so executed[31]. Such a reference would substantiate the impression of Domitian's cruelty given in the second division of

the/.....

the poem. But the chronology is awkward 'since in 93 Martial can still pull [Crispinus'] leg (8.48)'[32]. If Crispinus was merely linked with Cornelia by gossip, but was not executed (as Courtney suggests), Juvenal, by giving the charge as a fact, must be further suggesting the capriciousness of Domitian's strictness. In this case it would seem to be indicated that crimes outside the court may be ignored whereas, it emerges in the description of the council, offences inside are dangerous.

Domitian has, by contrast, an important role in the second main section of the poem, especially in the account of the council. His presence is a background one (although councils suggest speeches, he utters only four words (Sat.4.130,) and the terror with which he surrounds himself is shown indirectly in the behaviour and attitudes of the counsellors[33]. One of the techniques used to emphasise Domitian's presence is his full and very varied nomenclature. A partial list is given by Sweet[34] and I treat the matter more fully in comparison with the nomenclature of Virro in Sat.5.[35]

The major elements of the characterisation of Domitian are the frivolity of the council and the attitudes with which it is taken. The seriousness with which the debate is taken may be glimpsed in the parallelism of the world and the fish (Sat.4. 37 and 130 - 132), but it emerges mainly, as indicated above, from Domitian's reticence, which draws the apparent

eagerness/.....

eagerness of the counsellors, into the foreground.

The prosopography of the eleven counsellors has been studied[36]. The selection of names presumably has something to do with Statius' de Bello Germanico, for three names recur (Crispus, Veiento, Acilius)[37], but scale and order differ. Juvenal rejected then Statius' organisational principles[38]. In fact, no clear overall scheme emerges in the list of courtiers, although local patterns emerge occasionally: the most important structural principle seems to be variety. Since this variety represents reactions to Domitian it will be best to proceed quickly through the catalogue in order.

Pegasus primus ... rapta properabat abolla while the slave is saying 'currite, iam sedit' (Sat.4. 75 ff). Then one after the other, sometimes in pairs[39], the remainder enter. Primus, rapta abolla and properabat show a fearful haste which is confirmed by the continuous procession. Primus almost suggests a race. Just as Pegasus is terrified of Domitian the city seems terrified of him as the vilicus (= praefectus urbi) or absentee-landlord's agent[40] despite the fact that he is the best of the Domitianic prefects and seems to show evidence of courage[41]. Clearly that makes no difference: Pegasus is still Domitian's representative and the Emperor works through fear and even with unwilling tools.

Pegasus is characterised not very unfavourably. That

prepares/.....

prepares for Crispus' mite ingenium (Sat.4. 81 - 82) and a favourable impression is built up. But it is rapidly checked and for it is substituted an impression that for the adult part of eighty years, grande mortalis aevi spatium(42), Crispus has said nothing but safe trivialities(43).

Pegasus and Crispus comprise, in effect, an ironic counter to Tacitus' statement that posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse, obsequiumque ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor adsint, eo laudis excedere, quo plerique per abrupta sed in nullum rei publicae usum ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt. (Tac. Agr. 42. 4)(44).

Quies is a closely linked concept(45) and from this there is an easy transition to somnus, desidia and the like, or worse.(46) Emperors suspect ability(47) so that vice or a pretence of vice may be a technique of survival. The pretence of vice had, apparently, adherents(48). Pretence has antecedents and can take various forms. Achilles hid among the women and Odysseus ploughed salt in his fields, pretending madness, to avoid the Trojan war(49). Brutus followed the example and was followed by Claudius(50).

These considerations lead directly from Pegasus and Crispus to the younger Acilius (his father is only introduced in order to lead the son on).

proximus/.....

proximus eiusdem properabat Acilius aevi
cum iuvene indigno quem mors tam saeva maneret
et domini gladiis tam festinata; sed olim
prodigio par est in nobilitate senectus,
... (Sat.4. 94 - 97)

Here there is a clear point against Domitian's capricious cruelty, and a sententia that must have been commonplace in the political thought of the period[51] and is certainly connected with what precedes (notably Crispus' age). The following lines bring us to the area of trickery and pretence. But not only did such tactics not guarantee success: the pretence could ~~noted above,~~ be difficult to sustain. Doubts to the effect that Galba and Claudius were not really pretending are attested[52] and Tacitus shows uncertainty about Petronius: dein revolutus ad vitia seu vitiorum imitatione (Tac. Ann. 16. 18). But there is no doubt about fighting in Domitian's amphitheatre: it is done or not done. The portraiture of Pegasus, Crispus and Acilius then, subverts the picture of a way of satisfying integrity under an Emperor provided by Tacitus and others and perhaps indicative of a certain feeling of guilt exacerbated by the uncompromising attitude of the 'Stoic opposition':[53] the Tacitean way is not a success, but merely reflects the Emperor's power.

The next seven members of the list are dealt with more briefly and form a miscellany of which Catullus is the most

expansively/...

expansively treated (Sat.4. 114 - 118) and forms the climax. After this the discussion is described, beginning with Catullus and also recalling Veiento and Montanus. Briefly Rubrius is vicious, but apparently under some kind of threat because of an offensa tacenda (105); Montanus is slow and fat (107) because of gluttony (136 - 143); Crispinus is also described in terms of sensuality, but not food (as in the first section of the poem), but scent (108 - 109); Pompeius is murderous (110); Fuscus had in his youth sought quies (Tac. Hist. 2.86), but evidently had changed his mode of living in Galba's time for the military activity in which Juvenal represents him as doomed (111 - 112); the prudent Veiento and the murderous, blind and amorous Catullus tie at the end (113 ff). The positions of Rubrius and Pompeius in the list make it clear that there is no concerted progression towards a climax of evil(54). Instead the whole list provides a range of characters all variously, but palpably affected by the presence of the Emperor. Only three of the eleven have the confidence and ability to speak (Sat.4. 119 - 136). Just as the entry procession might resemble a race, this section resembles a competition: non cedit Veiento (Sat.4. 123). The three contributors are not selected on grounds of symmetrical or orderly placing in the catalogue(55), nor for being the worst of the eleven: the apparent randomness shows the variegated influence of Domitian(56).

Domitian's power produces courtiers who devote themselves

to/.....

to physical pleasures, those who willingly indulge in obsequious flattery and murder in order to serve their own interests, and those who are forced, in one way or another, to acquiesce. Crispinus' position in this part of the poem should now be considered. His part is very unemphasised. He comes seventh in the list and he is neither the best nor the worst of the eleven. His attribute, smelling of too much scent, is on the same level as Montanus' implied interest in food (Sat.4.107). But this interest of Montanus' (the same as Crispinus' in the earlier part of the poem) is expanded later in the poem (Sat.4. 136 ff) and he takes an active part in the debate. On the other hand Crispinus receives only two lines of description (Sat.4.108 - 109) and is immediately overshadowed by Pompeius (saevior illo, Sat.4. 109).

His presence, apparently so perfunctory, is not demanded by the programme set down at Sat.4. 28 - 36. The invocation to the Muses to tell what Domitian was eating cum tot sestertia, partem / exiguam et modicae sumptam de margine cenae / purpureus magni ructarit scurra Palati, /... (Sat.4. 29 - 31) refers back to the story of Crispinus' fish and suggests that a different, but contemporaneous, setting is about to be narrated. Crispinus' presence is, then, not expected and when he appears his lack of importance is a surprising contrast to his role in the first part of the poem. This can hardly be accidental[57]. The contrast in tone in the two episodes indicates that there is

more/.....

more at stake than this, but the purpose must be in part to show an example of a courtier both in and out of the court(58).

Inside the court Crispinus is a terrified and minor figure, prominent only for his perfume(59); perhaps even a buffoon(60). Outside the court fear is removed, indeed there is almost an air of complicity(61) which contrasts strongly with the subsequent picture; in the absence of this fear Crispinus' voluptuary interests are vastly magnified.

Crispinus' two prominent actions in this part of the poem are corrupting a Vestal Virgin and buying a vast fish. Large fish were a luxury sought after for various reasons (Juvenal indicates two; Sat.4. 18 - 21) including for personal eating,but emit sibi (Sat.4. 22) is emphatic. The contrast with Apicius alludes to a passage in which Seneca remarks that such a purchase is outrageous if for private use, but not if it is for a present to the Emperor(62). (That view, of course is modified in the second part of Sat.4. where just such a fish is given to the Emperor). This is a hint, which is confirmed by the use of the fish in the second part of the poem, that Crispinus' behaviour does not just reflect Domitian's characteristics as his fear reflects Domitian's power later , but is in one point at least a small scale model of Domitian's. Similarly his treatment of the Vestal recalls Nero(63). In particular the fish motif is a clear and emphatic connection between Crispinus

and/....

and Domitian, reinforced by the structure of the poem.

Perhaps too much has been made by way of detailed comparison between Crispinus and Domitian. E.J. Kenney points out the portraits of the two characters given in the poem, as opposed to derived from other sources, are very different: 'in the Prologue, a dissolute monster; in the body of the satire, a cold and capricious sadist'.(64) Juvenal could have made the balance much neater: Pompeius (Sat.4. 109 - 110) with his ability to open throats with a thin whisper, or the death-bearing Catullus could both have matched Domitian's cruelty better than Crispinus. They are both fearful figures, and that is the most prominent characteristic attributed to Domitian in the fourth satire.

Two reasons can be given for the selection of Crispinus for this double role in the poem. Firstly outrageous behaviour was naturally credited to such characters as Catullus, but it is the more striking if a figure of such minor importance in the court, and one not generally attributed with the evil of a Catullus, should in any way reproduce imperial behaviour. In fact influences are extended further, since the fisherman (Sat.4. 45 ff) provides an example of obsequiousness at a level of no prominence (and demonstrates Domitian's partiality: Crispinus does not have to give his fish to the Emperor) and the unnamed delators (Sat.4. 47 ff) on the shore are miniature

versions/....

versions of Catullus. A picture emerges in which Domitian forms the top of a pyramid and fear of his power and reflections of his character or attributes extend down to the base(65).

The second reason for Crispinus' appearance in both parts of the poem, as opposed to any of the other counsellors, concerns the change of tone between the two parts. Crispinus is an easy target for abusive satire: he has already appeared in that role in the same book as the fourth satire (Sat.1. 26) where he provoked a piece of angry invective. Whatever the order of composition(66), the reader of the book knows Crispinus as an object of indignatio, established as such in the programmatic satire. The fierce invective he is treated to in Sat.4. 1 - 33 is a natural beginning and creates no surprise. At this point the dramatic aspect of the poem should be stressed. So far the argument has been based on a view of the whole poem, so that Crispinus' second appearance can be taken as having implications for his function in the first part of the poem. For an audience that will have emerged in retrospect or on a second hearing. But a poem has a temporal element and the obvious fact that the speaker begins with abuse of Crispinus rather than using it as a final crescendo is a major feature of the poem.

At line 28, by an apparently spontaneous association, the analogy with Domitian gives rise to an abrupt transition(67). But if Crispinus' monstrosity demanded such invective, how can Domitian be treated? The mock epic register used serves several functions. Naturally it constitutes a criticism of imperial

epic/.....

epic, but for the purpose in hand it represents a less direct and emotive way of handling Domitian. The withdrawal from invective may suggest that the speaker has got himself under control, has achieved dispassion(68). While this may enhance the satire on the Emperor it also insinuates a doubt about the efficacy and perspective of indignatio.

Domitian is a larger personage than Crispinus and his power degrades the courtiers, the fisherman and the watchers on the shore: that is tantamount to saying all his subjects. If anger is expended on Crispinus, Domitian cannot but frustrate. But since Domitian is so much worse than Crispinus, the anger expended on the latter is seen to be out of perspective. It is possible, I believe, to explain this in terms of displacement. Domitian is so bad that he dwarfs all anger and the accumulation of emotion needs an outlet: Crispinus(69).

This cannot be proved, but there is a striking paradigm for such displacement in Tacitus. Nero sent a letter to the Senate purporting to explain the circumstances of his mother's death (Ann. 14.10.2): namque et naufragium narrabat: quod fortuitum fuisse quis adeo hebes inveniretur ut crederet? (Ann.14.11.2). Tacitus comments ergo non iam(70) Nero, cuius immanitas omnium questus antibat, sed Seneca adverso rumore erat quod oratione tali confessionem scripsisset (Ann.14.11.3). This seems to be precisely the role Juvenal assumes in the fourth satire: haranguing Crispinus, because Domitian defies

all/....

all *questus*[71].

To conclude. The fourth satire is built out of the differences and similarities between its protagonists. Crispinus has a major place in the first, a small place in the second part of the poem, whereas Domitian has a small place in the first and a large in the second. Crispinus' double appearance gives an example of the varied effects of tyranny in and out of the court, and this can be applied *mutatis mutandis* to the other courtiers. This is emphasised by the structure, the common motif and the verbal links. Domitian's corresponding appearance in both divisions of the poem emphasises his capriciousness: he terrifies his courtiers; outside he causes a Vestal to be buried, the spread of flattery and delation - but also seems to turn a blind eye to at least some of Crispinus' misdeeds. Most of Domitian's characterisation is indirect and comes from the description of the courtiers. This description also relates to political thought as expressed by Tacitus and others, and Juvenal seems to subvert their rather self-defensive ideas. Over and above this there is the change of tone in the two parts of the poem. This, I have argued, has several functions. The most obvious is the implied criticism of imperial epic as gross flattery: this aspect is in particular aimed at Statius. But criticism is also implicitly brought to bear on *indignatio* and the programme undertaken at the beginning of Book 1. Perhaps the change also suggests that the Emperor defies complaint and that the harangue against Crispinus shows anger displaced from its proper object. This would cohere with the dissatisfaction with *indignatio*: against its proper object it is useless.

CHAPTER 6

SATIRE FIVE

The relationship of the protagonists in the fifth satire is clearly and integrally linked to the subject matter and the themes of the poem. The prominent themes *amicitia* and *libertas* are of some importance in the first book of satires as a whole[1] and the fifth satire is to some extent a summary of the book's thematic material[2]. Its suitability for this role is enhanced by economy of *dramatis personae* and narrative: unlike the preceding satires, the fifth concentrates on a single pair of *amici*, Trebius and Virro, and this encapsulation gives a fuller picture than that of the third satire where only one side of the relationship is examined. As regards economy of narrative, the single event described (or rather foretold) has a unity and coherence which is more obvious than Umbricius' apparent ramble and the obviously bipartite fourth satire. Even if Umbricius' characterisation gives a satisfying unity to the third satire, the relationship of Trebius and Virro provides a paradigm of *amicitia* and the more straightforward unity is a way of concentrating on the essence of the picture, of balancing the two parties against each other. (Something of the same character may also be seen in the ninth satire, where again two *amici* are the protagonists, Naevolus and (as in *Sat.*5) Virro[3]).

Trebius and Virro are basic features of the description of the dinner and their interaction (or lack of it) has been described[4], as have certain links with Sat.4[5] and the summary nature of the poem[6]. A supplementary account is given here for the purpose of relating this satire to the main enquiry, and some under-noticed features may also emerge, in particular concerning nomenclature and the speaker's role. The matter may be dealt with under three headings (the speeches; the menu; personal indicators, i.e. names, pronouns etc.) and a conclusion.

I Speeches

The first satire is enlivened by some 30 lines of speech, much of it in the form of brief exchanges. The second satire contains some 34 lines of speech, partly in exchanges, but also with one speech of some length, Laronia's (Sat.2. 37 - 63). The third satire is almost wholly devoted to one very long speech. So far an escalation. By contrast the fourth and fifth satires, both poems in which the subject matter (council and dinner) engenders expectation of debate or conversation, include surprisingly little direct speech. The fourth has 17 lines in which some speech occurs (sometimes very little, as at Sat.4.76) and the fifth has 15 (including some which are merely hypothetical: 130 ("bibe"); 135 - 136).

In Sat.4 Domitian is spoken to three times (by the fisherman,

Veiento/.....

Veiento and Montanus: only Montanus addresses him by name, Sat.4. 135): Catullus plurima dixit (Sat.4. 119), but what he said is not reported and appears to have been exclamatory (nemo magis stupuit, Sat.4.119). Such is the length of the list of the Emperor's amici that the paucity of speech and speakers is obtrusive. Domitian, whose presence is felt throughout, utters four words (Sat.4. 130). This lack of communication is closely paralleled in Sat.5 where Virro's presence is continually felt, but the only words he is imagined as likely to say in connection with the meal are "una simus" (Sat.5. 18), a formula, merely(7), but also the only plural verb in the satire which includes both Trebius and Virro. The slave speaks to Trebius more than Virro does (Sat.4. 74 - 75). Furthermore Virro is only spoken to twice: firstly a rhetorical interjection by the speaker to the absent Virro (Sat.5. 107 - 113) and secondly "bibe" which is hypothetical: quis ... temerarius usque adeo ... ut dicat regi 'bibe'? (Sat5. 129 - 130). Trebius speaks twice at the dinner, but neither time to Virro. At Sat.5. 76 - 79 he bitterly admits to himself his folly(8) and at Sat.5. 166 - 168 he speaks to himself again, this time in disbelief at his fate: although he speaks of Virro he does not name him. By contrast Naevolus frequently apostrophises Virro (cf. Sat.9. 46 ff, 54 ff, 71, 77, 81 ff; not by name), but he is not in Virro's presence. The only other speech in Sat.5 is Alledius' reflection on truffles (Sat.5. 118 - 119); presumably he is one of the reliqui Virrones.

The/.....

The impression given is that Virro only converses with equals (Sat.5. 136 - 137 suggest that even this is mercenary) and that even his slaves resent contact with the poorer amici. This separation between the protagonists is explicitly emphasised at Sat.5. 125 - 127, duceris planta ... si quid temptaveris umquam / hiscere tamquam habeas tria nomina. Horace's cena is markedly different(9): Nasidienus is mocked, but he is freely spoken to by Balatro (Hor. Sat.2.8. 65 - 74) and freely speaks to the company (implicit in ut aiebat cenae pater, Hor. Sat.2.8.7; quoted in 43 - 53; implicit in ut multo suavius, 89; suavis res, si non causas narraret earum ..., 92). He addresses Maecenas at 16, it is clear that he spoke to Fundanius (me docuit, Hor. Sat.2.8.31) and his reply to Balatro is recorded (Hor. Sat.2.8. 75 - 76). There is also free conversation between the guests: Vibidius speaks to Balatro at 34 and is said to have to have made requests of the slaves at 80 ff (contrast Trebius' treatment at Juv. Sat.5. 52 - 75), and at 61- 63 Nomentanus addresses Fortune on Nasidienus' behalf. Unlike Virro, Nasidienus is not tyrannical or wilfully insulting, and the guests are not terrified or abject.

For clarity lists are provided here.

Speeches at the dinner in Hor. Sat.2. 8

(6 - 7 Nasidienus generally)

16 - 17 Nasidienus to Maecenas

(31 Nasidienus/.....

(31	Nasidienus to Fundanius)	
34	Vibidius to Balatro	
43 - 53	Nasidienus generally	
61 - 63	Nomentanus to Fortune	
65 - 74	Balatro to Nasidienus	
75 - 76	Nasidienus to Balatro	
(80 ff	Vibidius to slaves)	
(89	Nasidienus generally	
(92	Nasidienus generally	Total: 29 lines direct sp.
		Total length of Satire: 95 lines.

Items in brackets are not recorded in direct speech.

Speeches in Juv. Sat.4

65 - 69	Fisherman to Domitian	
76	Slave opens council	
(119 ff	Catullus exclaims)	
124 - 128	Veiento to Domitian	
130	Domitian to council	
130 - 135	Montanus to Domitian	Total: 17 lines direct sp.
		Total length of Satire: 154 lines.

Crispus' hypothetical conversations (Sat.4. 87 - 88) and Pompeius' whisper (Sat.4. 110) should also be borne in mind.

Speeches/.....

Speeches in Juv. Sat.5

18	Virro to Trebius (the invitation)
74 - 75	Slave to Trebius
76 - 79	Trebius to himself
118 - 119	Alledius generally
*130	guest to Virro
*135 - 136	Virro to Trebius
166 - 169	Trebius to himself

Total: 15 lines direct sp.
Total length of Satire: 173 lines

Items marked with asterisk are explicitly shown as not happening. In Sat.5 lines 125 - 127 confirm the impression of highly constrained talk. The speaker's interjection to Virro should be registred as a strong contrast to Trebius' abject behaviour (see further below). The lack of communication in the satire is a major contributor to the negation of amicitia.

II. The Menu

Food is prominent in both the fourth and fifth satires. Both satires in the main concern a single event (the council is the main part of Sat.4, and the introduction is very much in parallel) connected with food. Domitian's rhombus echoes Crispinus' mullus and this (or both) is echoed in turn by Virro's mullus. As Lafleur points out[10] the description of

Crispinus'/....

Crispinus' and Virro's mullets (Sat.4. 15 - 21; 5.92 ff) are further linked by association in each case of the mullet with captatio . Another similarity between the two satires is the exclusion of others from the food by Crispinus (Sat.4. 22), Domitian (Sat.4. 64) and Virro.

On the other hand the fourth satire has a political element at an explicit level, which is not found in the fifth. But Virro clearly corresponds to Domitian[11] and Trebius to Crispinus in his capacity as terrified attendant[12]. In a general way these correspondences might be said to give Sat.5 political connotations. This is reinforced by the associations of the food purveyed[13].

The associations given to Trebius' food are squalid and repulsive, or servile[14]. By contrast Virro's food has epic associations, or historical associations which suggest the theme of liberty[15] and confirm Virro's regal aspect[16]. Irony is added in that Thrasea and Helvidius and the Bruti and Cassius, (Sat.5. 36 - 37) all suggest regicide or tyrannicide. Piso and Seneca (Sat.5. 109) also advert to this idea, and the association of Virro's mushrooms with Claudius' (Sat.5. 147 - 148) emphasises it[17].

Virro is set up as a regal figure; that is to say, he is like a smaller version of the Emperor (this is brought out by

juxtaposition/....

juxtaposition with Sat.4) in other respects and also in his treatment of Trebius. The latter, servile and grovelling, reflects Virro's importance (just as the counsellors reflected Domitian's in Sat.4). The unequal division of food was a motif well known in post-Augustan literature(18); it was not unknown in life(19), but the political adumbration of Sat.5 gives a more paradigmatic quality: the different types of food are an embodiment of Virro's and Trebius' different social and financial positions and that difference assumes a particular character under an Emperor and is reflected throughout society.

III Personal Indicators

The manners in which Trebius and Virro are referred to provide some interest. For comparison, Virro in Sat.9 and Domitian in Sat.4 are also treated(20). The material is considered under three headings: the use of the character's name, addresses by name, other personal indicators.

Trebius:

i) Name: Trebius occurs at Sat.5. 19, Trebio and Trebium at Sat.5. 135. The speaker uses Trebius' name once, and that rather distantly (see under addresses below) and the name occurs twice in the same line (in polyptoton) in Virro's mouth. This is unique in Juvenal, and indicates strong feeling. Context shows this to be a well

disposed/....

disposed feeling. But Virro's speech is hypothetical and dependent on Trebius' being rich: Virro's excessive friendliness is caused by money. There is a clear contrast between this friendship of Virro for Trebius, effusive and mercenary, and the speaker's honest reticence. The paucity of the speaker's use of Trebius' name is confirmed by the frequent naming of Virro (see below).

ii) Addresses: since the poem is addressed to Trebius it is surprising that he is not, in fact, formally addressed (contrast the addressees of Sat.6, 7, 8, 11 - 16; all the addressed satires). Te (Sat.5.1), tibi (5) and tu (12) make it clear that Trebius is the direct recipient of the satire, but when he is named (Sat.5. 19: a place comparable with the addresses of Postumus (Sat.6. 21) and Telesinus (Sat.7. 24)) it is in the nominative. This absence of the vocative is different from the hypothetical speech of Virro (da Trebio, pone ad Trebium, Sat.5. 135), since Virro is instructing a slave and, furthermore, turns back to Trebius with an address immediately: vis, frater, ab ipsis / ilibus? (Sat.5. 135 - 136).

Trebius is actually spoken to at Sat.5. 18 (una simus) and is given a brusque order by a slave (Sat.5. 74 - 75)[21]

Virro's/.....

Virro's hypothetical frater (135) is the only vocative Trebius receives. These contrasts show that Trebius is held in contempt by Virro (until he should grow rich), by the slave, and also, to some extent, by the speaker. The use of the third person at Sat.5. 19 is clearly significant and perhaps it is possible to see an additional reserve in the rather late appearance of the name[22].

iii) Other personal indicators: Trebius is referred to mainly by second person pronouns. When the plural is used it may include other guests of the same sort, but this is rather immaterial: what is of importance is that never does vos (vel sim.) include Trebius and Virro, just as when Trebius says nos (Sat.5. 168) he does not include Virro. The only plural word in the satire which does involve both characters is simus (Sat.5. 18), a (polite) formula used for the invitation.

Other references are varied; veteri ... clienti (Sat.5. 64), vestris ... alveolis (88) tuis ...labellis(128) vilibus... amicis (145) and plorante gula (158) refer to Trebius more or less directly and are all contemptuous. So too, but in a different way, is Virronis amicus (134). Dominus ... et domini rex (137) and liber homo et regis conviva (161) are, by contrast, Trebius' ideas of, or wishes for, himself[23].

Trebius/.....

Trebius is referred to quite frequently (see table below) and with some variety. That emphasises the infrequency of his name. It should be added that whenever the reference is not by a simple pronoun, it tends to be contemptuous or ironic. Patris (142) is the closest to an exception.

While this material goes some way to confirming the impression of alienation between Trebius and Virro, it goes further in showing the speaker's attitude to be less sympathetic than critical, which suits the apotreptic character of the piece. In particular Sat.5. 137 f and 161 show Trebius' foolish conceit, and that his aspirations seem to aim at a position hardly different from Virro's.

Virro:

i) Name: Virro at Sat.5. 39, 43, 128, 149, Virroni at Sat.5. 99, Virronis at 134, Virronem at 156; especially notable is Virronibus at 149, since it does not actually refer to Virro. The name is used far more frequently than Trebius' and seems to be reiterated so often as offensive to Trebius: this is comparatively clear at Sat.5. 134, quantus fieres Virronis amicus and at Sat.5. 149, Virro sibi et reliquis Virronibus illa

uibebit/....

uibebit / poma dari, ... Trebius is set firmly outside the group of Virro's peers and Virro's name becomes the seal of approval which Trebius wants. It was argued earlier that a name may be avoided if its holder is hated and this is the converse(24). The speaker uses the name often, precisely because it emphasises Trebius' exclusion and the author of that exclusion, Virro, and does so to rouse Trebius' indignation.

ii) Addresses: Virro is never addressed by name. On the speaker's part this is not surprising, since Virro is not the addressee of the poem. But at the prospective dinner neither Trebius nor anyone else will be so perditus as to say to Virro 'bibe' (Sat.5. 129 - 130). That is the only occasion on which there is any question of speaking to Virro. At Sat.5. 166 - 168 Trebius in a speech to himself refers to Virro, but does not use - or perhaps avoids - the name: ecce dabit iam / semesum leporem ... This may confirm the suggestion made above, that the speaker uses a name offensive to his addressee.

If it is not surprising that the speaker does not address Virro by name, that is because there was no reason to expect him to speak to Virro at all. And yet he does so at Sat.5. 107 - 113: ipsi pauca velim, facilem/.....

facilem si praebeat aurem. The change of address is a frequent device in declamation for rousing indignation, but while much in this satire is aimed at rousing Trebius' indignation the language here does not suggest that purpose. It recalls the end of the introduction to the first satire (Sat.1. 21, si vacat ac placidi rationem admittitis, edam) when the opening indignatio had died down, and velim is a polite request(25). The rest of the apostrophe is implicitly critical of Virro, but is expressed with moderation: nemo petit, modicis quae mittebantur amicis / a Seneca ... (Sat.5. 108 f)(26).

This section follows a particularly distasteful item on Trebius' menu (Sat 5. 103 - 106) and precedes the least generous portion, where Virro receives inter alia a boar (Sat.5. 114 ff) and Trebius receives nothing(27). The description of the menu and the use of names is calculated to rouse the abject Trebius' hidden indignation, and the context of this apostrophe suggests that here is a place for an angry outburst. But the speaker merely expresses himself politely and firmly. This suggests that the indignation the speaker has been playing on was felt by Trebius (secretly), but that it is no more satisfactory a response to the situation than Trebius' patent abjectness, and that it

is/.....

is not matched by the speaker.

iii) Other personal indicators: Virro is used eight times: the next most frequent referent is ipse (seven times; for references see appended table) which can have connotations of mastership[28]. Ille, by contrast, appears thrice. Rex too is only used three times for Virro, but being a much stronger word than ille it does not need frequent repetition. Along with rex should be considered dominus (five times of Virro[29]): it is used almost as a variant for Virro and its partial interchangeability has obvious implications[30].

Apart from these words Virro is only referred to by amico and tibi, once only and, significantly, used by the speaker (Sat.5. 113, 173), but not by any of Virro's guests; amico is emphatic and contrasts strongly with rex, dominus and ipse, and it is emphatically placed as the last word in the poem. Trebius, too, is called amicus, but only in the hypothetical case of his being rich will he become Virronis amicus (Sat.5. 134); he is also included in the vilibus ... amicis of Sat.5. 146. The two occurrences of the word for or including Trebius emphasise, rather than the reverse, his alienation from Virro. By contrast the application to Virro in the last line of the poem

provides/.....

provides the closest association between the two characters that may be found in the poem: Trebius deserves Virro.

Domitian:

i) Name: Caesaris at Sat.4. 51 and Caesar (vocative in a speech) at Sat.4. 135. Virro's name is frequent in Sat.5 and the use of Caesar is apparently a contrast here. That it is not really so will emerge below.

ii) Addresses: Domitian is spoken to only three times in Sat.4, once by the fisherman, once by Veiento and once by Montanus. Only Montanus uses the vocative Caesar, which perhaps suggests a climatic effect. Certainly Montanus is the most successful adviser in the council described.

The paucity of address has an effect very like the paucity of address to Virro in the following satire. Both characters are being marked as powerful and oppressive.

iii) Other personal indicators: In the fifth satire Virro, ipse and dominus constitute the main elements of Virro's nomenclature. Name and function are not wholly

distinct./.....

distinct. This feature is more pronounced in Sat.4 where Caesar is used twice and for the rest Domitian is thought of largely in terms of role and heredity. Thus he is called induperatorem (Sat.4. 29, for subsequent references see table appended), pontificisummo, ... regenti, tyranni, dux magnus; dominus is used twice and barbato ... regi at Sat.4.103, while referring to Tarquin, implies that Domitian is a rex but unbearded. In view of this lack of distinction between the man and the role, one could consider fisci (Sat.4. 55), dis aequa potestas (Sat.4. 71) and anxia epistula (Sat.4. 149) as related usages. With regard to heredity Domitian is called Flavius ... ultimus (Sat.4. 37 - 38) and calvo... Neroni (Sat.4. 38).

This proliferation of nomenclature suggests that in Emperors personal identity counts for rather less than the imperial role.

Domitian is also called Atriden, giving mock grandeur, and clade and peste, and caede madenti; all showing his violence. The oppressive tyranny of Virro is emphasised by frequent naming and by the partial interchangeability of dominus etc. with his name. Similarly Domitian is characterised by prolific nomenclature, representing the manifold extent of his power. In both

cases/....

cases individual identity is somewhat (less so in Virro's case, because his name is used so often) reduced in importance as compared with the role. In both cases, too, the frequent and striking references to the *persona* counterbalance the background place the characters appear to have in the poems. Since the two satires are juxtaposed, we may take it that the analogies between Domitian and Virro are intended to be the more readily observable.

Virro in Sat.9[31]:

The nature of the argument favours dropping the treatment by headings here. *Virro* occurs (in the third person) at *Sat.*9. 35 only. This single usage may be explained in part by Naevolus' preference for the indignant use of *tu* etc.

The second person pronouns and the vocatives *passer* (*Sat.*9. 54) and *ingrate* and *perfide* (*Sat.*9. 82) are noticeable in that Virro is not present to be addressed. The apostrophe of the absent indicates strong emotion, here anger; the rarity of the name (and never in address) may suggest the avoidance of a hated name. Perhaps it may also suggest the character of a private monologue[32]. This would be enhanced by Naevolus'

use/.....

use of vocatives and second person pronouns for Virro when he is, in fact, speaking to someone else: one should compare Umbricius' use of Quirites at Sat.3. 60 and take this as a subtle indication of Naevolus' self-centredness.

The rarity of naming and the confined nature of the nomenclature contrasts markedly with the treatment given to Virro in Sat.5. This is an index of the different role assumed by the speaker. In the fifth satire the speaker plays on Trebius' hidden anger, in the ninth he quietly allows Naevolus to reveal his own faults; in the fifth Virro's name is used by the speaker as an affront to Trebius, in the other he lets Naevolus develop his complaints with a little prompting. The speaker merely refers to Virro once, as ille (Sat.9. 91), a very clear contrast with Naevolus' frequent use of tu.

Character references in Sat.5

Trebius

		ttl
alveolis (vestris)	88	1
amicus (Virronis)	134; amicis (vilibus) 146	2
clienti (veteri)	64	1
frater	135 (voc. by Virro)	1

labellis (tuis)	128	1
nos	168 (by Trebius)	1
patris	142	1
Trebius	19, 135 (bis, by Virro)	3
tu	1, 5, 12, 39, 46, 52, 62, 72, 74 (by slave), 84, 86, 128, 132, 153, 161 (bis), 162, 170	18
vestrum (quis)	129	1
vos	28, 51, 52, 103, 166	5

Virro

amico	174	1
dominus	49, 71, 81, 92, 147	5
ille	42, 162, 170.	3
ipse	30, 37, 56, 86, 107, 114, 142	7
rex	14, 130, 161	3
tibi	113 (by speaker)	1
Virro	39, 43, 99, 128, 134, 149 (bis*), 156	8

* not including Virronibus.

Note that whereas Trebius is named rarely, and frequently referred to by pronoun, the position is nearly reversed for Virro.

Domitian

Atriden	65	1
Caesar	51, 135 (voc. by Montanus)	2
clade	84	1
dominus	52, 96	2
dux magnus	145	1
Flavius (ultimus)	37 - 38	1
ille	69, 73	2
induperatorem	29	1
... madenti	154	1
Neroni (calvo)	38	1
peste	84	1
pontifici summo	46	1
... regenti	83	1
tyranni	86	1

Virro in Sat.9

ille	91 (by the speaker)	1
ingrate	82 (voc.)	1
passer	54 (voc.)	1
perfide	82 (voc.)	1
tu	46 (bis), 56, 71, 77 (bis), 81, 83	8
vos	48 (bis)	2

IV Conclusion/.....

IV Conclusion

In the disposition of speeches, in the division and associations of the food provided at Virro's dinner, and in the ways in which the characters are referred to Juvenal has given a picture of a client tyrannized by his rich *amicus*. The close links with *Sat.*4 indicate a comparability between Virro and Domitian, so that the applicability of the treatment of *amicitia* is seen to be broad. This theme has been prominent in the first and third satires, but the treatment changes. In the first two satires the material is dealt with *via* small-scale vignettes. The third has the form of an expansion of one of the vignettes in *Sat.*2, Laronia's speech (*Sat.*2. 36 ff) and gives a single narrative occasion involving the speaker and one major character. The fourth satire uses two narrative occasions, but they are parallel and closely linked. Finally the fifth satire uses a single scene and develops the portrait of a client in the third satire by giving prominence specifically to the addressee's rich *amicus*. *Amicitia* is a mutual relationship and in this satire Juvenal elucidates both parts.

What emerges is a criticism of both parties in *amicitia*, and the oppressiveness of Virro makes Trebius' subservience the more blameworthy. Position in the book and thematic links as well as the form of the poem itself give the fifth satire the aspect of a summary picture of the poet's contemporary social

world, where amicitia had long been a central concept.

Such conclusions can be reached from a reading of the satire, but the conclusions reached earlier about the names of the protagonists should be reiterated. Virro suggests a decadent wastrel of some social standing. Trebius suggests rather the man of indistinctive lineage who has high aspirations. This is confirmed in the satire (Sat.5. 132 ff) and adds to the characterisation of Trebius as greedy, willing to endure anything for advance, and eager to make himself like another Virro.

CHAPTER 7/.....

CHAPTER 7

SATIRE EIGHT

In the eighth satire Ponticus is very apparent at lines 87 - 145, an important section firmly placed in the body of the satire. He is also addressed at Sat.8. 1, 75 and 179, more often than any addressee except Postumus in Sat.6. But that satire is very long and two of the three addresses are concentrated near the beginning (Sat.6. 21 and 28), whereas those to Postumus are well distributed. And yet Ponticus' place in Sat.8 is problematical. It will be necessary to give an account of the themes and organisation of Sat.8, within which Ponticus' role will be considered in detail.

A proposition is given in an introductory section (Sat.8. 1 - 38): the relationship between lineage and virtus. This is given treatment by means of an extended exemplum at lines 39 - 70. Advice to Ponticus, based on the preceding sections, leads into detailed advice about provincial government (Sat.8. 87 - 145) after which follows detailed exemplification of the original proposition, that lineage does not matter.

The provincial matter may seem to stand out in this brief outline and Courtney describes it as a digression(1). In chapter 3 I gave three reasons why it should not be so taken(2).

The/.....

The section (87 - 145) is long and structurally prominent(and from line 131 it moves to a more explicit connection with the opening) and therefore curiously placed for a digression. Provincial government may be seen as a high point in an aristocratic career. Thirdly, the other two satires in the third book concern forms of *amicitia*, and *amicitia* and *clientela* were concepts intimately linked with the Roman relationship with, and attitude to, subject states(3).

If, then, *Sat.* 87 - 145 are not digressive, the poem falls into three parts; a general and a specific treatment followed by *exempla*. It is now possible to consider the treatment these parts receive. The first (*Sat.*8. 1 - 70) asks Ponticus *stemmata quid faciunt*? It then parades a large number of aristocratic names (lines 1 - 38 have the highest density of proper names in the *Satires*) and states that lineage does not matter. Whatever is made of the text of lines 6 - 8(4), there is some illogicality in the protasis, *si coram Lepidis male vivitur* (9), since only other families have been mentioned hitherto. The illogicality is removed, or rather is seen to be pointed, when it becomes clear that such aristocratic names are devoid of significance and quite interchangeable: thus at lines 21, 26 - 27 and 38 Ponticus is told, in effect, that he can call himself whatever aristocratic name he likes (an outcrop of this mockery reaches titanic heights at *Sat.*8. 131 - 134). This gives point to the unparalleled concentration of names

used/.....

used in this section.

Most of the families named were long extinct(5). Of course Juvenal could hardly have done otherwise but use the names of the dead here, but there is an oddity about the selection. One might have expected more variety in the period drawn on, but Juvenal chooses an aristocracy of which the successor too had been replaced(6). That new names rose to prominence on a wide scale under Trajan(7) furthers the impression that Juvenal picks names of much greater antiquity than was necessary, names that suit the Annals rather than the Histories. Since the latter (not to mention its sources) was accessible to Juvenal during the period of composition of the eighth satire and could have provided aristocratic names as defunct and safe as the Annals, it may be thought that the selection was conscious. Perhaps the Annals had recently made them current coin (if Juvenal had access to them at this stage), perhaps (whether he did or not) to intensify the suggestion of the pointlessness of lineage: if aristocracies die out, their essence, continuous succession, is impaired (unless it is redefined). That Pliny praises Trajan for supporting the remains of the aristocracy (Pan. 50.3; in fact Trajan did not(9)) shows what a rarity the old families were (cf. Tac. Ann. 13.18).

Juvenal, then, mocks aristocratic names as worthless and interchangeable, but Ponticus' name does not suggest real aristocracy. So far there can be no critical insinuation: whether

criticism/....

criticism is latent would depend on relevant material from the biography of a historical and worthless Ponticus. Since no such material is readily apparent the passage suggests instead flattery of a new aristocrat in the tradition of Horatian paraenesis.

I argued in Chapter 3 that Domitius Ponticus, the legate to the proconsul of Africa in AD 77/78, might lie behind Juvenal's figure. Were this clear in the first section the semblance of such flattery would be strengthened, but it would be impossible to make this identification until one reached the provincial matter of lines 87 ff. By then it is too late to support the flattery since the impression of a new aristocrat, more or less laudable, has already started to be dispelled. There are two stages to the dispelling of this impression, described below, arising from the ambiguity of the transitions to and from the following section (Sat.8. 39 - 70) and in the manner of lines 87 ff themselves. The result is that identification with Domitius, far from supporting a flattering reading of lines 1 - 38, actually broadens the scope of Juvenal's mockery to include the new aristocrat.

The exemplum, Rubellius Blandus (Sat.8. 39 - 70) carries on the indictment of the value of lineage. To this extent the use of Rubellius coheres with the preceding rhetorical structure (stemmata quid faciunt?). Actually, however, Rubellius' claim

to/.....

to nobility was less than might have been expected in such a context. Juvenal 'forgot, if he ever knew, how recent was the nobility of the Rubellii.'(10) Some had thought the marriage of Julia and Rubellius Blandus ill-matched because of his low (equestrian) background (Tac. Ann.6.27.1)(11); Rubellius Plautus could be regarded as possessing nobilitas through the person of his mother (Tac. Ann.14.22.1)(12). Juvenal refers explicitly to the maternal origin of his Rubellius' nobility (Sat.8. 42 ff) and may therefore have known and remembered how recent it was. It may be that Juvenal is already broadening the patrilineal concept of lineage which was tacitly understood in lines 1 - 38.

The first thirty eight lines give no indication that they are directed at anyone other than Ponticus, who is addressed in the first line. But at lines 39 - 40 Juvenal writes, his ego quem monui? tecum mihi sermo, Rubelli / Blande. The name can be nothing but a surprise: it means that the audience must try to look back and redirect the advice from Ponticus to another, hitherto unheralded, character. Furthermore, while lines 1 - 38 might seem to be potentially flattering addressed to Ponticus, they must be seen as critical when directed at Rubellius. Confusion (especially in a recitation) is so likely to have occurred that Juvenal is either unaccountably careless here, or he intended confusion. The distinction between Blandus (clearly critized) and Ponticus (apparently flattered) is blurred. At

this/.....

this point the interchangeability of aristocratic names (Sat. 8. 1 - 9, 21, 26 - 27, 38) should be recalled.

The transition back to Ponticus after the section on Blandus does little to reduce the sense a blurred distinction.

> haec satis ad iuvenem quem nobis fama superbum
> tradit et inflatum plenumque Nerone propinquo;
> rarus enim ferme sensus communis in illa
> fortuna. sed te censeri laude tuorum,
> Pontice, noluerim sic ut nihil ipse futurae
> laudis agas....
>
> (Sat. 8. 71 - 76)

Haec satis ... is noticeably perfunctory as a transitional device and the relative clause and explanatory sententia attached to iuvenem make it clear that the contrast between illa and te only shows that Ponticus has not the same excuse for degeneracy as Blandus.

These lines lead towards the provincial matter and here, if anywhere, Ponticus needs his name positively cleared. In fact the nature of the advice given, by the rhetorical convention that the terms of an argument are governed by the nature of the recipient, presupposes an avaricious despotic Ponticus. This advice needs to be considered in the light of some other pronouncements on provincial government, namely two letters of

Cicero/.....

Cicero and Pliny on how to treat a province, and the numerous passages purporting to criticise the greed the Romans showed in their administration.

Courtney[13] draws attention to Cicero ad Quintum fratrem 1.1 and Pliny Ep. 8.24, both letters purporting to give advice on provincial administration, but both clearly intended for a more general audience. They are part of a tradition which F. Zucker[14] traced back to Isocrates and Plutarch, and are essentially set-piece essays with a large panegyric element. The possibility of abuse of power is recognised, but it is something one avoids or prevents. Profit or glory are recognised increments, but temptations are resisted and power is held to be a responsibility. The restraint of officers and retinue, if necessary, will show impartiality[15].

The advice found in Juvenal is similar in material, precepts on theft, comites and so on, but the central idea that power is a responsibility disappears and the advice not to oppress the provincials takes on a very different aspect. There is again the recognition of abuses of power (Sat.8. 90 ff, 105 ff, 120), but the reasons for abstaining are here purely practical: the fear of punishment (Sat.8. 92 f). The provincials have become so impoverished that any further exploitation will make them dangerous (Sat.8. 111 ff). The text of lines 111 - 112 has been questioned, but the import of the whole passage down to Sat.8. 124 still elaborates this idea in an emphatic manner.

Admittedly/....

Admittedly this reasoning is visible (but faintly) in Pliny (longeque valentior amor ad obtinendum quod velis quam timor, Ep. 8. 24. 6[16]), but the blatancy of the exposition in Juvenal seems to parody the superficial humanitarianism of Cicero and Pliny.

The critiques of the Roman empire, already mentioned, must now be considered. Rhetorical attacks on Roman rapacity outside Rome are a recurrent element in the historians. The standard form is that of speeches attributed to external rebels. Caesar, Sallust, Livy and Tacitus (also Dio) provide examples[17]. However convincing some of these speeches sound, they are clearly rhetorical set pieces devised to satisfy the same taste as the controversiae[18]. Tacitus indicates how little intent to criticize is present in them when he describes Julius Valentinus' speech as cuncta magnis imperiis obiectari solita (Hist.4.68.4), with vaecordi facundia in the same context. Here, then, we have a tradition of superficial criticism: in the Cicero and Pliny letters discussed above we have a tradition of advice which also looks superficially at abuses.

Genuine criticism would have been technically difficult (not to mention other problems) since the rhetorical tradition followed by Tacitus would have made it likely that any criticism made would be seen as belonging to that tradition. Juvenal's parody of the letter of advice aligns itself to the panegyric

form/.....

form, but the advice he gives presupposes the malpractices noticed in both traditions, and also the existence of governors perfectly willing to continue them so long as it was safe(19). The parody undermines the basis of the panegyric exemplified by Cicero and Pliny without being subject to the enervating influence of the conventional and rhetorical criticisms in the historians. This is achieved through the person of Ponticus; the use of such arguments as appear in lines 87 - 145 characterises him as one who would accept them. This carries a subaudiendum that a typical governor (for that is what Ponticus is used as) would be incapable of seeing the force of other kinds of argument(21).

After the section on provincial government comes exemplification, beginning with Lateranus (Sat.8. 146 - 182) who is dealt with on the same scale as Blandus had been. It is not clear until line 146 is over that a new section has begun, but there is not the confusion that obtruded in Blandus' case, and lines 183 - 4 confirm Lateranus' exemplary position. He is followed by a number of other exempla: there is a tendency, sometimes blurred, for the examples or exemplary groups (as at Sat.8. 183 - 210) to diminish in scale of treatment.

Sat.8.	146 - 182	Lateranus	37 lines
	183 - 210	various, chiefly Gracchus	28 "
	211 - 230	Nero	20 "
	231 - 237	Catiline	14 "

237 - 244 Cicero/.....

Sat.8.	237 - 244	Cicero	8 lines
	245 - 253	Marius	9 "
	254 -[258]	Decii	4 "
	259 - 267	Servius Tullius and Brutus' sons	9 "
	(272 - 275	origines)	(4 ")

Another organising principle, which is more than merely structural, is the movement further into the past as the section proceeds. From line 146 to 230 the context is Neronian[22], then Catiline and Cicero form a pair from the Republic (Sat.8. 231 - 244), with Marius also republican, but rather earlier, following (Sat.8. 245 - 253). The Decii take us back to the fourth century, Servius Tullius to the regal period, and (actually outside the list of exempla) the last lines of the poem go back to the origins of Rome.

The two developments, decreasing length and increasing antiquity, combine to suggest a panorama from the well known recent past (or, in Juvenal's terms, the approximate present) to the distantly remembered[23] and brings the idea of lineage to a logical and unpalateable conclusion, quod dicere nolo (Sat.8. 275).

Snobbery is perennial and frauds occur. Pliny the Elder records Messalla's complaint about claims of relationship by

inferior/.....

inferior Valerii (NH 35.8). But the general subject matter was commonplace[24]; Maximus (3. 4 - 5) gives examples of those qui humili loco nati clari evaserunt and of degenerate nobles. The exempla at Sat.8. 146 - 267 are part of a recognisable tradition, and the Decii and Servius Tullius, and the exempla form were so well worn that a simple re-use might afford little by way of either entertainment or effective criticism.

It is not characteristic of Juvenal to use standard rhetorical material in a straightforward way (the use of exempla in the seventh satire shows this clearly[25]), but the presence of irony here is debateable. The disparity between the crime and the punishment which may be seen at Sat.8. 179 f, 188 and 221 ff and which is emphasised as a theme by the recurrence of the idea of punishment at Sat.8.235 and 267 - 268, may be intended to mock the values upon which such demands are made. In Nero's case that means a criticism of such attitudes as are shown in Tacitus, Suetonius and Dio[26]. But Courtney argues[27] that the outraged tone is genuine and belonged to Juvenal himself, citing the passages in Tacitus and Dio just referred to. Examples, however, of a sincere belief in other authors cannot prove sincerity in a satirist. Courtney's other argument, about the extension from line 224 - 230 (pointless, it seems, unless serious) has some weight, but fails to account for certain peculiarities. For example, there is the absurdity of non una, nec unus, nec unus (Sat.8. 213 - 214) and the amoral function of Agamemnonidae(215[28]

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as preparation for the sequel rather than as a real indication of the nature of the crime it is meant to illustrate. This same opportunism is seen at line 199, where haec ultra quid erit nisi ludus? seems to be an outraged response to what precedes, but this function is rather undermined by the example of just such behaviour which follows: it is a reductio ad absurdum where the absurdity is claimed as true. At Sat.8. 251 - 252 the detail of the crows' previous experience of corpses is a perversely indirect way of indicating the courage of those who fought such (evidently) large men. Perhaps the fact that the agent of the slaughter is emphatically singular (hic ... solus ... Sat.8. 249 - 250) adds to the bizarre effect. Less noticeable, but still odd for a serious context, are bracatorum pueri (Sat.8. 234) and the curious identifying detail (natavit) in line 265. Also noticeable is the language of Sat.8. 177 - 178:-

> aequa ibi libertas, communia pocula, lectus
> non alius cuiquam, nec mensa remotior ulli.

The previous lines give these their pejorative import, but in themselves they compare favourably with the treatment given by Virro in Sat.5 and should be seen against the background of passages associating libertas and related concepts with equitable and acceptable dinners[29]. These passages show that the language of lines 177 - 178 is far from pejorative. Lateranus' company is a source of irony and Lateranus' libertas may be a

travesty/.....

travesty, but the fourth and fifth satires and the use of liber / libertas at at Sat.8. 211, 244 and 263 combine to suggest that Lateranus' form of libertas is the only currently available kind. This becomes in part a criticism of the imperial numen that destroys other forms. Such an idea is clearly developed in Sat.4, where the vice and follies of the courtiers are inspired by Domitian, and such a precedent lends plausibility here.

Accordingly, in view of the other oddities of Sat.8. 146 - 275, I suggest that the lines on the theatrical performances of nobles (Sat.8. 183 sqq.) and those on Nero (211 sqq.) constitute a criticism of the frivolity or folly described, but that also the oddity of the treatment effects a criticism of the values upon which the criticism seems to be made: senatorial values, that is.

There are, in conclusion, three main parts to Sat.8 and Ponticus has an important function in the first two. The first section, it was argued, comprised a semblance of the kind of flattery which might be given to one of the governing classes not well endowed in lineage. The name, Ponticus, would seem to be recognisably non-noble, but plausible for one of the 'new' aristocracy. Vicious and useless aristocrats are satirized, so that it might seem that Ponticus is honourable and efficient. But doubts intrude when he is strikingly confused with Rubellius Blandus.

In the second section Ponticus is given advice on provincial administration. But the advice indicates the possibility of various malpractices, and does so in such a way that it seems to be implied that Ponticus (and therefore the type he represents) is a fit recipient for such advice which presupposes a willingness to extort and exploit as much as is possible in safety. Since the type Ponticus represents is not the genuine aristocrat, the criticism implicit in the advice is directed at the governing class, irrespective of birth. Such criticism is found elsewhere, but mainly as rhetorical set pieces in the historians. Juvenal gives what is in effect a parody of a panegyric form (the epistle to a ruler on the art of ruling) and avoids the essential harmlessness and inoffensiveness of the historians' commonplace.

The satire has moved from a critique of the value of lineage to a critique of the attitudes of the governing class in general. The third section, the exemplary, reverts mainly to the irrelevance of lineage and its temporal sweep and regression to origins is suggestive of a burlesque of a family tree. In addition, it could be held, as argued above, that this section includes mockery of current senatorial attitudes and values. This, however, is not incontrovertible and the commonplace, justifiable in part, that the later satires (at whatever point they begin) tend to be less satisfying, may apply to this satire. Nevertheless, it may still be said that Ponticus' role in the poem is extensive and that at least two out of three major sections are moulded to him.

CHAPTER 8

SATIRE NINE

The ninth satire, as a dialogue, involves speaker and interlocutor. As the interlocutor has a role of such importance it will avoid confusion in this chapter to refer to him as Naevolus and to Juvenal in the role of speaker as 'Juvenal' or the 'satirist'. Naevolus has a clear and unquestionably important place in the ninth satire, speaking for some two thirds of the total. Also clear is the restraint 'Juvenal' used towards him. In the fifth satire the 'satirist' seemed to share Trebius' point of view, until it emerged that this was assumed for satiric purposes: here he again assumes a sympathetic stance, but this time the other protagonist is allowed to undermine himself. Since Naevolus takes on more of the burden of the satire, there is less need of the kind of tactics used by the speaker in the fifth satire and to that extent the manner is more related to the irony of the third satire. I argued in chapter 4 that Umbricius was undermined as a spokesman. The attitude to Trebius is more explicitly critical and when we come to Naevolus, although 'Juvenal's' manner is much more restrained than that used on Trebius, the matter of Naevolus' revelations makes it clear that he is a related figure, but a more obvious target for criticism. That is, of course, a

factor/.....

factor which reduces the need for explicit criticism.

It is conceivable that Juvenal might not have wished to exclude sympathy for Umbricius, and Courtney writes of the present satire,'Juvenal's general presentation suggests that he does not lack a certain genuine compassion for Naevolus'(1). But literary attacks aim at the folly or hollowness or falsity of the victim's ways. If their aim is valid the audience may or may not feel sympathy for the victim who is revealed as living in a waste land. It does not matter whether the author felt any or not: the point is the revelation of the folly or whatever and the sympathy is in the realm of legitimate audience subjectivity (in this and other cases the modern mentality is likely to be more sensitive than the ancient). This of course assumes that the ninth satire is some form of attack; this assumption needs defence since the charge of amoral comic opportunism has been brought to bear.

Mason holds that Naevolus' speeches are loosely related declamations and writes that 'Naevolus is something like a music hall comic whose "character" is flexible enough to act as a support for a repertoire of unconnected jokes and disparate social reflections'(2). He proceeds to remark that the tone used by 'Juvenal' is one of amused banter and to make a general comparison with Martial(3). The case is not cogent.

In/.....

In the third satire Umbricius offers what is virtually a long declamation, and 'Juvenal's' tone is not explicitly critical of him, but, it was argued, this does not mean that the satire is simply a display of wit. With regard to the ninth satire, Mason has not established his position firmly.

There certainly was a taste for the kind of literature Mason believes Juvenal wrote. Perhaps Martial did not provide the best example, for the scale of Martial's work did not allow the room for either developing the impersonation of a character or for generating the expansive looseness of a music hall persona. But the Alexandrian taste for humble or squalid detail and interest in character (combined, for example, in Herodas' Mimiambi)(4) was, naturally, transferred to Rome where Catullus, Horace, Propertius and the Moretum poet are among those who reflect it in various ways(5). In particular, elegy provides a genre where the poet plays a role with some concern for character and no moralising content for its own sake (advice to the beloved to behave better has a special purpose). The narrative persona of Petronius is related(6). But this material still proves nothing about Juvenal, since any literary work is to some extent sui generis. The interlocutors of Horatian satire have the same background as Naevolus, they are unsatisfactory spokesmen for the morals they propound, but they also seem to be used in poems which have a basically serious intent.

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I intend to argue here that the arrangement of Naevolus' speech is so conducted as to form part of his characterisation; so that the possibility that sudden changes of direction are not simply the poet's opportunism may be established. After this I give some comments about the tone of the speeches, suggesting that its complexity does not preclude humour, but that such complexity cannot stem only from a humourous intent. Thirdly the relationship of Naevolus to Trebius will be reconsidered. The thematic development, it will be argued, gives Naevolus an importance a merely comic figure would not require.

I Argumentation

I commented in the first chapter (section I iii) on the formal similarities between the third and ninth satires, on the one hand, and also certain satires in Horace's second book. The similarities are much more striking in the case of Juvenal's third satire; nevertheless the formal resemblance between Juvenal's ninth and Horace Sat.2.5, such as it is, makes a brief comparison a feasible way of highlighting the structure of Juvenal's poem.

Tiresias, in Horace, speaks for nearly three quarters of the satire, mainly in three long speeches. Naevolus speaks for some two thirds in four speeches. Horace's satire is of 110 lines, Juvenal's, his second shortest apart from the incomplete sixteenth, is of 150. There are also more general

similarities: /...

similarities: both satires deal with the corruption of relationships by money, in both the poet assumes an unsually low profile, Horace by not involving 'himself' in the dialogue, Juvenal by giving 'himself' only a small part, both by lack of explicit criticism. Finally both the main participants, Tiresias and Naevolus, start with replies to their interlocutors and proceed from there.

The similarities are sufficient to make the differences illuminating. Tiresias makes a number of points which have a logical cohesion extending over his speeches as a whole. Odysseus' interventions, being mainly exclamatory questions, allow Tiresias to resume his argument without significant discontinuity. The points in his paraenesis ad captatorem begin with minor services and proceed to the explicit injunction to hunt after wills and concomitant advice; there is also a temporal continuity in that the advice leads Odysseus from the politenesses with which to bait the hook, to the patience required to keep the fish and finally to the funeral and what to do afterwards. By contrast, Naevolus does not have this grasp of sequence. His reaction to the questions put to him is by turns querulous, perfunctory, unsatisfied and finally dismissive and whereas 'Juvenal's' questions follow what Naevolus has said neatly, each of Naevolus' answers develop at a tangent from the starting point. This could provide evidence, though not conclusive, that Naevolus is being characterised as more interested in his own troubles than in dialogue.

A more detailed look at the internal workings of the four speeches will confirm that this is a viable possibility. Naevolus' opening speech (Sat.9. 27 - 90), the longest in the satire, is a querulous and sometimes passionate lament explaining his current situation. The contrast with what seems to be the banter of the 'satirist's' opening speech (especially in view of the pomposity of Naevolus' opening words) is marked and emphasises the character of Naevolus' speech. The pomposity and shamelessness have recognisable comic value (Herodas' pandar in the second mime is somewhat similar(7)), but, as already stated, comic counterparts prove little about individual intent.

The sequence of points in this first speech is haphazard and repetitive:-

a)	27 - 31	I get little returns
b)	32 - 37	This is fated
c)	38 - 42	Virro's greed
d)	43 - 47	repulsiveness of job
e)	48 - 49	Virro's greed
f)	50 - 53	my presents to him
g)	54 - 60	Virro's wealth and greed
h)	60 - 62	Virro gives to someone else
i)	63 - 69	My needs
j)	70 - 90	My services' value (children and wills)

In/.....

In addition the level or direction of the speech varies drastically:-

a)	27 - 38	generalisations, beginning in a rather public manner (cf. Sat.3.60, Quirites), including towards the end a generalised addressee (33, 35: tibi, te)
b)	39	Abrupt quotation of Virro (cf. 'Longinus' 27)
c)	40 - 41	Third person narrative
d)	41 - 42	Imagined address to Virro (or his slave, numera)
e)	43 - 46	Third person, exclamatory
f)	46 - 47	Apostrophe to Virro (tu; otherwise perhaps quotation of Virro's words to Naevolus(8))
g)	48 - 49	Apostrophe to Virro (vos)
h)	50 - 53	Self address
i)	54 - 62	Apostrophe to Virro (the sense of address diminishes from 58)
j)	63	Third person quotation of Virro
k)	63 - 69	Exclamatory: addressee unclear.
l)	70 - 90	Apostrophe to Virro.

It should be observed that the line divisions in the two analyses are not always congruent. The frequent changes of mode are a standard declamatory technique for depicting πάθος (not, of course, confined to declamation); Umbricius' address

to/.....

to the Quirites (cf. Sat. 3.60) is akin. What is noticeable here, is the difference between the portrayal of Trebius as abject in Virro's presence (not addressing him) and Naevolus' anger in Virro's absence (apostrophizing him frequently). While other characteristics are present, anger and lack of interest in dialogue are the prominent features here. The angry man, be it noted, is perfectly acceptable in comedy, but it is fairly regular that comedy ultimately provides a resolution of the tensions raised in its course. To what extent this happens in the ninth satire will emerge below.

Naevolus' second speech (Sat.9. 92 ff) is equally revealing. A single line (the first) is given to answering the question about Virro's point of view - apparently of no real interest to Naevolus. This is followed abruptly by nine lines dealing with nothing but the imperative need for secrecy. The abruptness of the transition might be argued to indicate the poet's having worked out one theme and mechanically moving on to another. On the other hand, if the development is compatible with a plausible characterisation the case against such a characterisation would require full argument. In fact, it is perfectly natural that Naevolus, carried by his emotional rhetoric to a fine climax in his first speech, should realise in the calm provided by the intervening question (iusta doloris, / Naevole, causa tui; contra tamen ille quid adfert? (Sat.9. 90 - 91) that such freedom of speech is dangerous. Thus he is distracted

from/.....

from answering the question more than perfunctorily by his desire to silence his confidant . Lack of interest in seeing his problems from the other side is not excluded as a factor in this transition: in the first speech Virro is a vivid presence, ~~Seneca~~ quoted and apostrophized, here he is largely subsumed under a general pumice levis (Sat.9. 95), and even this presence disappears in the following speeches. Naevolus' lasting interest is himself.

Although there is no logical opposition between Naevolus' lines on secrets[9] and Umbricius' (Sat.3. 51 - 54), the different emphasis, stemming from the different position of the two characters, reveals how partial the views of both are. Naevolus has been befriended by the rich Virro and found the situation has its difficulties: he expands on the dangers of the suspicion (unfounded, he implies; tamquam prodiderim, Sat.9. 97) of the rich amicus. By contrast, Umbricius has failed to find a rich patron. Having proceeded less far along the road to advancement than Naevolus, he sees only the advantages to be gained from knowing the secrets of the rich: quis nunc diligitur nisi conscius et cui fervens/ aestuat occultis animus semperque tacendis? (Sat.3. 49 - 50). The perspective of both characters is limited to their own situation.

The third speech (Sat.9. 124 ff) rejects 'Juvenal's' intervening lines as too general (commune, Sat.9. 124). Courtney[10] writes/.....

writes, 'Naevolus is quite right in saying that the advice is not relevant to him.' To the extent that a good part of the advice is couched as an exhortation to the rich man (second person verbs in lines 119 and 121) to behave well in order to avoid malignant talk, this is true; but the advice to Naevolus to demand silence from all the people who before dawn have found out quod ... ad cantum galli facit ille secundi (Sat.9.107), although apparently impractical, has a particular point with regard to Naevolus, namely, that in this case Naevolus is the source of the knowledge and has just betrayed it, at least to one, as Courtney himself points out elsewhere(11). Naevolus' failure to perceive this argues an inability to judge his own conduct objectively.

Naevolus brushes aside vivendum recte ... (Sat.9.118 et seqq.) with perfunctory praise: utile consilium modo, sed commune, dedisti (Sat.9. 124) indicates Naevolus' dissatisfaction while retaining what is little more than a superficial politeness. The transition to his basic concerns is as swiftly achieved as the transition in his second speech (Sat.9. 92 - 93): the concern is for advice on how to recoup his losses, nunc (contrasted with modo, 124) mihi quid suades post damnum temporis et spes / deceptas? The tone of the sequel is also indicative, but discussion is better deferred until the tone of Naevolus' speeches in general is discussed.

Naevolus' /.....

Naevolus' final speech is a response to what (Sat.9.130 ff) is in some ways a more practical address than the previous (Sat.9. 102 - 123), amounting to a suggestion that if Virro is not remunerative there would be no difficulty in finding alium, si te hic fastidit, Alexin (V. Ecl.2. 73). Nevertheless, even the degree of politeness shown at the beginning of Naevolus' third speech (Sat.9. 124) disappears: haec exempla para felicibus (Sat.9. 135) is completely dismissive. In fact the speech to which Naevolus is responding is not wholly serious: by any treatment of the text tu tantum erucis inprime dentem (Sat.9. 134a and 135) remains, and it is clearly humorous[12]. Naevolus, however, completely misses this and takes the speech as though it were in all respects serious advice, thus showing, as well as his obsession with his own financial position, an inability, again, to see himself objectively. He takes himself very seriously (note the pomposity of Sat.9. 27 - 28 and 32 ff) and does not perceive humour at his expense. The remainder of this speech shows Naevolus expressing his wants. At first they are entirely moderate: sufficient to live on (Sat.9. 135), enough to avoid beggary (Sat.9. 139 - 140). But thereafter they become less so. There is an escalation as the passage proceeds, but it is not an even and continuously marked escalation. Viginti milia fenus / pigneribus positis (Sat.9. 140 - 141) is clearly Naevolus' view of enough to avoid beggary; it would be 5% interest on the amount required for equestrian status. The social aim is clear (it is not clear how far short of it Naevolus is), but on proceeding

further/.....

further the degree of augmentation seems random and eccentric. The amount of silver in Sat.9. 141 - 142 is not precisely specified, but the use of pauca argenti vascula puri at Sat.10. 19 suggests that this is a substantial addition to the viginti milia fenus. Duo fortes / de grege Moesorum (142 - 143), on the other hand, is on its own a trivial wish: one would expect a pair of Moesian litter-slaves to be a natural concomitant of equestrian status rather than a special supplement, but even considered in this light it is a modest desire (contrast Sat.1. 64; Mart. 2.81; 4.51; 6.72; 6.84; cf. also Catull. 10. 20). The personal caelator (145) is a luxury reminiscent of Verres (Cic.2. 4. 54) and presupposes the possession of precious metal; this item, then, is conspicuously luxurious. The rapid painter (145 - 146), being a skilled slave, will have been expensive, but does not have the same connotation as the caelator. There is not a regular progress towards a climax of greed in the passage; Naevolus' desires are certainly larger than the modesty he assumes at first, but they show a realistic preoccupation with particular items, especially ones which involve an element of ostentation(13).

In each of the four speeches Naevolus shows more interest in his own affairs than in dialogue. In the first speech Naevolus takes little account of his audience, constantly changing its direction; in the second, realising he has been indiscreet, he does not continue his specific complaints about Virro, but tries to impress the need for secrecy. He does at least answer the

question/.....

question in line 92, albeit briefly, but in each of the successive speeches he is more and more dismissive of the other speaker, both times suggesting that the advice is irrelevant to his needs. In addition, the treatment of these speeches shows Naevolus' obsession with his financial and personal difficulties, that of the last a preoccupation with detail which is compatible with the impression already given. The treatment also shows Naevolus misunderstanding, or failing to catch the tone of the 'satirist' (Sat.9. 124 ff, 135 ff) and this is again, an additional, but compatible, feature of his characterisation. More detail can be achieved by considering the tone of his speeches.

II Tone

Naevolus exhibits considerable variety in his linguistic registers: the range includes passages which stop short of verbal obscenity, include agricultural or rustic imagery for more than one purpose, didactic language, epic language and allusion, and what might be called lyrical language. It would not be profitable to use these divisions as a system of classification, since the functions of each type are not discretely separated. What emerges is a character compounded of different materials. The overall impression the mixture makes lies partly in the realm of subjectivity: for Highet, Naevolus is vile, corrupt and pathetic, for Courtney he is all those things, but also perhaps

the/.....

the recipient of some genuine compassion from the poet[14]. As already suggested sympathy and antipathy both aim at what is vulnerable. A coherent portrait was beginning to emerge in the previous section of this chapter; it is my concern now to show that the portrait is complex and rounded. In this way I hope to advance the argument that the complexity and coherence are more than would be necessary for the simple level of humour Mason presupposes.

As already noted, the introductory speech, with its wit and apparent banter, sets up expectations which are defeated by the pomposity of Naevolus' opening words: utile et hoc multis (27) is a didactic phrase[15] and vitae genus alludes to a formal topos, the catalogue of βίοι, with which utilitas is associated in declamation[16]. It is immediately clear that Naevolus is neither shocked nor amused by the tone and matter of the introductory speech; on the contrary he accepts the imputations in all seriousness and is not disturbed by them. Roman attitudes to homosexuality were complex and involved a distinction between active and passive which might have put Naevolus in a more favourable light. But the proper object of active 'homosexuality' was the puer, not the vir or dominus (see Priap. 22). In addition Naevolus himself chose to keep his earlier male-oriented activities quiet (Sat.9. 26)(and regards his fathering of Virro's children as beneficial to the latter's reputation (Sat.9. 84 - 86; cf. 2. 58 - 59)).

Naevolus/.....

Naevolus' striking pomposity fades in the next three and a half lines (28 - 31), but reappears strongly at Sat.9. 32 f, fata regunt homines ..., where it is sustained for two lines. The intervening lines continue the theme of Naevolus' dissatisfaction with the amount of his returns with a list exemplifying his complaint: a rhetorical treatment, certainly, but not on the same grandiose level as the surrounding lines. This opening passage firmly establishes characteristics which reappear throughout Naevolus' speeches: a'ridiculous self-importance'(17) and lack of perspective due to self-interest, and a thoroughly mercenary attitude.

With the next lines more detail is achieved. We have already seen his pompous acceptance of his own behaviour in the way he begins his speech. At lines 34 ff this complacence becomes more blatant as he indicates more clearly the nature of that behaviour; also his anger comes to the fore and involves Naevolus in a certain tension. The details of these lines are designed to show (and provoke) indignatio : spumanti labello is related to Martial's nec otiosis ... labris (Mart. 1. 96. 13), but more repulsive; the implication that Virro makes contacts in the baths,(18) the blandae adsidue densaeque tabellae (Sat.9. 36) and the parody of a well-known line of Homer conspire to indicate Virro's despicable effeminacy. But Naevolus is part of Virro's nastiness, and in the process of abusing him he

implicitly/.....

implicitly admits that he is a κίναιδος (19). Quod tamen ulterius monstrum quam mollis avarus? (38) condemns Virro, but leaves Naevolus open to the criticism made of Trebius (Sat.5. 170 - 173).

The subsequent lines (Sat.9. 39 - 42) are a vivid representation of Virro's greed, straightforward except in that it reveals that Naevolus has received what (it turns out at line 140) he should regard as a comfortable income for quarter of a year. The range of incomes which could be derived from sexual services was very large indeed and Naevolus' five thousand sesterces is not near the very highest level. But since he quotes the sum in order to balance it against the arduousness of his task it is important to realise that while Naevolus does not give us clear information about the length of his service, it does seem clear that Virro's meanness must be slightly qualified. On the one hand Virro is described as having a mercenary attitude and there is no reason to doubt this; on the other, lines 28 - 31, 41 -42, 50 - 62 and 70 et seqq. show that Naevolus too is given to computation. Add that the labours Naevolus weighs up against his returns, and describes in lines 43 - 44 in Priapic detail(20) cannot be so different from the voluntary activity attributed to him in line 26, inclinare maritos(21) (which, however, he has kept quiet about; Sat.9. 26). What, then, is intended by Naevolus to show forth the faults of Virro, turns out also to reveal some of Naevolus': he glorifies himself despite obvious

disqualifications,/....

disqualifications, he shows gross shortsightedness and self centredness, he is calculating and mercenary, pandaring to the rich Virro whom he despises for the very fact that he can be pandared to. Such dual attitudes are an accurate delineation of the self justifying processes attributed to characters of analogous professions in modern literature; but Plato's portrayal of Pausanias in the Symposium provides an ancient guarantee for the observation.

There are other elements in Naevolus' characterisation (which I shall come to shortly), but before leaving the more straightforward unpleasant elements the end of his first speech should be considered. Here Naevolus describes his most notable services to Virro, the mollification of his wife, and the provision of children (Sat.9. 70 - 90). That is the color he uses, and it shows at least as clearly as anything before this in the satire that Naevolus' calculations override all other values. It is striking how little one can ascertain about the events Naevolus takes twenty lines to describe. That he has a taste for women is clear from Sat.9. 22 - 25 and 128, but here he gives no indication of whether he enjoyed the task or found Virro's wife congenial: she simply represents a difficult task successfully performed. Fugientem (74) means that she is leaving Virro rather than trying to escape Naevolus' advances, and no direct indication of the wife's feelings is given: tota vix hoc ego nocte redemi: (76) simply emphasises the difficulty of the

task/.....

task, amplexu rapui (75) that a desperate remedy was required for a desperate situation. Lecti sonus et dominae vox (78) play on a conceit of erotic poetry where it indicates mutual satisfaction: here one remains in ignorance. The only fact which emerges is that the tactic worked (which Naevolus supplies with a glib epigram: Sat.9. 79 - 80). Naevolus is not interested in the wife's feelings, only the value of his own service[22]. It seems that one occasion has been described[23], but it emerges that two children (Sat.9. 82 - 3) have been produced and Naevolus rhetorically contemplates a third (Sat.9. 90). The calculation about the financial value of children is the culmination of this aspect of his character; it is pointed up by the sentimentality of meliusne hic rusticus infans/cum matre et casulis et conlusore catello .... (Sat.9. 60 ff).

An oddity remains. This passage introduces the motif of captatio (Sat.9. 87 - 90) common in literature since Catullus (cf. Catull. 68. 119 - 124); with the nature of the evidence it is impossible to tell the prevalence of the reality and the proportion of captators to captated. Petronius' description of Croton (Petr. 116) as entirely divided into the two classes is hyperbolical. Orbitas, clearly, is a recommendation for the object of captatio , but something of a disadvantage for the captator[24]. But the social provenance of the two classes need not have been wholly distinct. Regulus, the notorious captator (Pliny Ep. 2. 20), it is implied, was not displeased when his

son/....

son died, because he could then be captated (Pliny Ep. 4.2). Virro, then, could play either role and Naevolus claims to have made him an eligible captator. On the other hand the captatio motif is strongly literary (as much of Naevolus' language is) and in literature orbitas and its benefits is the most strongly emphasised feature. Naevolus' claim would strike the audience as odd. In addition it might be noted that Naevolus' use of his own children (in the literal sense) could recall the declamatory situation whereby the pauper puts his children out for adoption by the dives and gathers (or fails to) the benefits (25) As hitherto, this could be interpreted as Juvenalian opportunism and the paradoxical and witty use of literature, but again it certainly coheres with the biased perspective that Naevolus has been shown to possess.

There are other aspects to Naevolus' characterisation. They are sufficiently distinct to add complexity, but they are not incompatible with those already considered, so that Naevolus does not become a collection of disparate characteristics, each to be donned as the context demands, but begins to be seen as a personality roundly portrayed.

There are places where Naevolus shows imaginative visualisation (so, of course, does Umbricius) and sentimentality. Neither feature makes Naevolus positively attractive - or even perhaps, less repulsive. They do, however, add to the fullness

of/.....

of his depiction and they are per se less repulsive than his other characteristics and help to make plausible another feature which does seem to mitigate Naevolus' negative qualities: at the end of the poem something like resignation may, perhaps, be perceived. I take it that it is on such grounds that Courtney suggests[26] that Juvenal may have had a certain compassion for his creation. Examples follow.

The whole passage from line 54 to line 69 should be considered first. It is extensive and occurs in the important first speech where much of our impression of Naevolus is formed.

> dic, passer, cui tot montis, tot praedia servas
> Apula, tot milvos intra tua pascua lassas?
>
> (Sat.9. 54 - 55)

These lines are abusive of Virro and the contempt shown is the same as in the preceeding lines and emphasised by the change of address. The imagery of the weary miluus is proverbial[27], but it is vivified by the use of montes (which supplies a detail about the context of the milui) and above all by passer (another bird) in the previous line. The point of passer is Virro's lasciviousness[28], but the contrast between the small, domesticable (see Catull. 2 - 3) passer (as Virro) and the large fiercer milui (also lassi; is there a parallel with Naevolus et reliqui Naevoli?) begins to suggest a wider landscape and a different world from all that has preceeded. I do not want to

stress/.....

stress this, except to suggest that it prepares the audience for the following two lines (Sat.9. 56 - 57)where Naevolus begins to imagine aspects of Virro's wealth that he might have expected to share. Thus the Trifolinus ager with its vines, and the suspectum ... iugum Cumis et Gaurus inanis represent something of Naevolus' wishes and ideals. Of course he shows greed, but the object is not unattractive and is attractively visualised. The parenthesis in the next line, nam quis plura linit victuro dolia musto (Sat.9. 58), is full of lively concrete detail, economically expressed. It is part of Naevolus' rhetorical demonstration of Virro's great wealth: but it is clearly a very odd detail to choose for this purpose, and it is unnecessarily elaborated for it. The careful delineation shows Naevolus' care for such things, and such things are not the object of simple greed. The passage is beginning to develop into effective indirect characterisation and to show Naevolus' envy, but also something perhaps a little less unattractive. Here, at least, it may be said that there is not much comic value to be obtained from lines 56 - 58, and so the intention to achieve complexity of character is the more credible.

Continuing in the same rhetorical development Naevolus asks quantum erat exhausti lumbos donare clientis/ iugeribus paucis! (Sat.9. 59 - 60). That makes clear in advance what is confirmed at line 62, that the intervening lines describe an ideal of Naevolus'. That ideal is:rusticus infans / cum matre et casulis et conlusore catello (Sat.9. 60 - 61). Here Courtney writes,

'the/.....

'the legacy is described in humble terms to make it seem a modest request'.(29) There is something in this, but this colour has already been applied in iugeribus paucis (60). More prominent is the contrast between gifts and bequests. Naevolus wants the little estate given to him rather than bequeathed to the gallus. The latter is permanently childless, whereas Naevolus assumes a sentimental tone for the rusticus infans (similar language at Sat. 11. 152 - 153 is affective). This contrast involves Naevolus in some tension with his attitudes to (his own) children and wills at Sat.9. 87 - 90, and his attempt to portray himself in a sympathetic light fails. Naevolus began to show a vestigially less repellent aspect in lines 56 - 58, but when he develops it he becomes more unattractive through the false sentimentality.

This effect does not seem comic and is exacerbated in the next lines (63 ff), where Naevolus shows sympathy for the poor slave he cannot support properly - sympathy for a slave he does not yet own and whom he will still buy (alter emendus erit, Sat.9. 66), despite the consequences(30). He has been carried away by his own rhetoric. On a different level one may point out that this whole passage effectively highlights the sequel: sentimental, or maudlin followed by calculating and callous.

Such a contrasted tone becomes prominent again at Sat.9.126 ff. From the line before, the passage runs:-

nunc/.....

'nunc mihi quid suades post damnum temporis et spes
deceptas? festinat enim decurrere velox
flosculus angustae miseraeque brevissima vitae
portio; dum bibimus, dum serta, unguenta, puellas
poscimus, obrepit non intellecta senectus.

(Sat. 9. 125 - 129)[31]

The commonplace thought (a variant of the dum licet motif) is tricked out in delicate and pathetic language, enjoyed by commentators and begrudged to Naevolus. But perhaps the elaborate word patterning (aAb, bcBC) draws attention to a mollities in Naevolus' lament[33] and the mixed metaphor adds to the nimis dulcis effect[34].

The final example is different. At the end of the poem Naevolus makes a speech which reveals a certain rather oddly expressed greed. What is striking is the end of the speech. The passage is the more memorable because of its position, so that whatever effect there is, one might suppose it is one whose difference from the rest of Naevolus' speeches Juvenal wished to emphasise.

quando ego pauper ero? votum miserabile, nec spes
his saltem; nam cum pro me Fortuna vocatur,
adfixit ceras illa de nave petitas
quae Siculos cantus effugit remige surdo.

(Sat. 9. 147 - 150)

The first line is of a piece with much that we have read so far,

plangent/.....

plangent and literary[35]; the continuation is still more literary, alluding to a well known passage of the Odyssey[36]. Naevolus states clearly (which may amount to a fresh realisation) that he has no hope (nec spes, 147) and expands this with a sort of explanation (nam, 148) which is not bitter or angry, or even primarily suggestive of despair: the remote, poeticized and allusive language distances the matter of Naevolus' complaints. While to some extent it is true to say that Naevolus is shown as again aggrandizing himself by mythological apparatus, this is by no means prominent. There is, for example, not the same elevation of his misfortunes 'to a cosmic context' which Courtney attributed to line 32[37]. In fact the final lines of the poem seem to show Naevolus distancing himself from his own troubles and perhaps achieving something akin to a sense of perspective or resignation. Such an end might be unexpected, but it is not so incongruous as to provide comic purchase. It adds, then, a subtle touch to the total characterisation of Naevolus, and this may be taken as part confirmation of the idea put forward in section I above, that the abrupt changes of direction in Naevolus' speeches are to be explained in terms of characterisation rather than opportunism as regards comic subject matter.

III The function of the characterisation

The characterisation of Naevolus is complex and subtle, much more so than would be needed for a satirical attack on the gigolo-parasite, certainly more than would be required for a

critique/.....

critique of homosexuality. In fact there is sufficient evidence that such a figure is used neither as a comic butt, nor as the sole and simple target of satire. There are connections with earlier satires which enforce a different emphasis.

There is a clear association with the fifth satire in terms of the prominence of the relationship *amicitia* in both poems. In both cases 'Juvenal' addresses an avowedly or ostensibly poor *amicus* who is unhappy about his treatment at the hands of a rich *avarus*. In both cases the rich *avarus* remains on the outside of the dramatic situation. These similarities are pointed up by the use of Virro as the rich *avarus* in both satires. Both poems appear as the final item in their respective books. It has been argued plausibly that the fifth satire acts as a summary or concluding statement of the major theme of the first book;(38) that means that when Juvenal makes such a point of assimilating the two satires, he is presumably suggesting that that theme, *amicitia*, is a major element in the ninth satire. He will, then, be using the mercenary sexual arrangements utilised in this satire as something like a symbol for *amicitia*(39). Combining these observations with those reached in the preceding sections one might make the formulation that Juvenal has used the framework of *amicitia*, established particularly in *Sat.*5, and fitted into it an accurately and fully delineated character in order to provide a single detailed and striking *exemplum* of the role of a traditional victim, the poor *amicus*.

Menander, Plautus and Terence can use fairly rounded characters; if the ninth satire is to be defined in terms of comedy we must still provide a description. Such a description would involve Naevolus' characterisation, the subject matter and the range of connotation. I have discussed Naevolus' characterisation, arguing it to be rounded and convincing; the range of connotation, in this case, is covered by the discussion of how Juvenal colours this satire by connecting it with the fifth satire giving the theme of amicitia weight and resonance and giving this satire emphasis. There remains the subject matter. Martial treated similar themes (homosexuality and amicitia) without ever letting them emerge as serious and without possibility of offence(40). The Priapic poems construct a self-enclosed world without outside application; they are amoral works of ingenuity, not far removed from Martial. By contrast the complexity of Juvenal's ninth satire produces, a much more manifold relation with reality.

Amicitia was a central concept in Roman society and basic values (such as fides) depended on it. The intimate connection of amicitia with the sexual arrangements of the 'hired' Naevolus might well have offended some in the audience.

CHAPTER 9

SATIRE ELEVEN

The relationship between the protagonist and the poem in the eleventh satire is clear on a number of levels. At the simplest, the poem is 'a disquisition about an invitation' to Persicus:(1) the dramatic situation of the poem is clearly related to a traditional form(2) and carries with it a number of basic expectations so that the simplicity of the meal, good relations between speaker and addressee, and the higher status of the addressee might all be foreseen without difficulty very soon after Sat.11.56, when the addressed section begins. It may indeed emerge that some or all of these expectations are misleading, but they are all relevant. By contrast the dramatic situations of most of the other satires dealt with in this dissertation tend not to provide such clear programmes. In the third, for example, the speaker is being left by a vetus amicus, but this is very vague and more information only comes as the satire develops, (on this level perhaps the thirteenth is the most closely analogous satire). Secondly, in a satire relating to food and involving contrasts between ancient frugality and modern decadence, the name Persicus has a very clear relevance. Finally, connecting both the preceding points, the basic elements in the irony involved are more obvious than in most of the satires: the simple meal is suspect and aspects of the poem lead one to believe

that/.....

that Persicus, in keeping with his name, is not a suitable candidate for enjoying a simple meal(3).

Recent scholarship has been meagrely applied to this poem. Highet and Mc Devitt(4) both underestimate the irony and fail to discern any cogent link between the introduction (Sat.11. 1 - 55) and the rest of the poem. Felton and Lee comment on Mc Devitt's failure to connect the introduction with the sequel, but their own attempt is hardly more successful: they take γνῶθι σεαυτόν from the introduction (Sat.11. 27) and apply it seriously to the contrast between modern luxury and the simplicity of both Juvenal and the antique Romans(5). There seems to be no perception of the difficulties in the logic of the introduction dealing with the ethic maxim, or of the irony directed at the antique Romans, also a fault in Adamietz's account of Sat.11.(6) In the same year appeared Weisinger's article, 'Irony and moderation in Juvenal XI'(7), which shows a much more realistic approach to the poem. Weisinger points out that one cannot take gnomic statements out of context and use them to define the poet's viewpoint. A pattern into which all the details of the poem fit must be found and irony must be accounted for. Weisinger argues that the introduction establishes the problem of double standards (cf. Sat.11. 21 f) and underneath the irony retains self knowledge as a valid answer which is put to the test (p. 234) by the meal to which Persicus is invited and which concentrates on essence rather than trappings (p. 240).

In/.....

In the main body of the poem Weisinger sees a gradation over modern luxury, the speaker's moderate simplicity, the early Romans as exemplified by Curius and finally the even sterner early Romans as exemplified in lines 90 ff[8] and comments that Juvenal is showing Roman decadence to have been inevitable historical process; further, the modesty of his own meal which is somewhat in keeping with the older ethics, is simply enforced by lack of resources[9]. Perhaps Weisinger does not take sufficient account of the irony of the satire, as will emerge below, but his results are a considerable advance on earlier interpretations.

Courtney's discussion reveals (and partially sidesteps) the difficulty of the application of γνῶθι σεαυτόν to the rich which seems to allow them luxury, and the importance of rightly ascertaining Persicus' place in the poem[10]. He argues (rightly) that Persicus is a fiction and that it is hinted that Persicus 'would enjoy luxury'[11] and comments favourably on the historical perspective already mentioned.

It is questionable whether the full coherence between the introduction and the sequel has been revealed and it is demonstrable that the true nature of Persicus' involvement with the meal has not been elucidated, as I have argued elsewhere[12] largely on the basis of an analysis of the menu of the meal. I propose to consider here the nature and role of the introduction, the irony directed at Persicus in the sequel and the connection between these two elements.

The/.....

The eleventh satire begins with fifty five lines of satiric writing before the addressee begins to appear. Such a delay is unique in the corpus and has the effect of giving the introduction the false appearance of being representative of what is to follow. Both the address, when it comes at lines 56 - 57 (experiere hodie ... Persice), and the change of tone from explicitly satirical to an apparently personal and friendly communication are designed to leave the audience wondering about the connection(13). The introduction is, then, a factor influencing audience's receptiveness to what follows and demands close inspection.

We begin with a pair of contrasted examples, the rich Atticus and the poor Rutilus. Both dine well, but because of their different financial situations they are generally regarded very differently. There may be some humour in the resemblance to the technique of using pairs of contrasted examples to lead to the golden mean(14); what is the golden mean between a rich and a poor glutton? Instead of μηδὲν ἄγαν we are led after twenty three lines of argument to the proposition that γνῶθι σεαυτόν provides the answer to the problem. Despite the ironic application of the maxim to knowing what one's resources will extend to, a case might have been made for the proposition. It would run as follows. If Atticus dines splendidly lautus habetur, but if Rutilus does, dermens habetur; therefore reputation is an accidental attribute stemming from the foolishness of common values and it follows that one must

consider/.....

consider the essence of the question and not the trappings. Q.E.D. γνῶθι σεαυτόν. The argumentation is marked off by ring composition (Atticus (rich), Rutilus (poor) at lines 1 - 2; Rutilus (poor), Ventidius (rich) at 21 - 22) and the conclusion refert ergo quis haec eadem paret (Sat.11. 21) would be an ironical feint before the proper conclusion given in lines 23 ff (cf. the similar ironic turn at Sat.5. 123). Juvenal has come very close to following this line, which is virtually Courtney's interpretation of the passage(15). But the logic cannot be sustained, for the body of the argumentation makes it perfectly clear that luxurious gluttony engenders a process of decline. Apicius is mentioned in line 3, and the story of his decline will have been well known (see Sen. Cons. ad Helv. 10. 8 ff; Mart.3. 22). More explicitly Sat.11. 14 - 20 make it quite clear that extravagance leads to poverty: sic veniunt ad miscellanea ludi (Sat.11. 20). Line 18 indicates that, despite the borrowing previously described, there is ancestral money involved, and this is explicit rather later at Sat.11. 39 (aere paterno). Rutilus, then, is simply the logical conclusion of Atticus' behaviour,(16) so that the application of γνῶθι σεαυτόν falls away: there is an objective danger in luxurious eating whatever one's finances are.

Such tags as γνῶθι σεαυτόν, 'to thine own self be true' and so on are so common that they may come to be used quite thoughtlessly in trivialised applications(17) and although its

application/.....

application to money is paralleled in a serious context[18] two factors may be combined to indicate that Juvenal is setting up a trivialised use of the Delphic maxim. Firstly the combination with another cliché, e caelo descendit[19] and secondly a certain oddity of expression throughout the passage from line 23 to 38. At the beginning the weighty e caelo descendit γνῶθι σεαυτόν (27) is introduced with a rather laboured verbal play on disto (26) which is set off by the geographical apparatus of lines 23 - 25 (contrast the similar quid distent aera lupinis at Hor. Epp. 1.7.23). The maxim itself is closely followed by the commonplace on the judgement of arms and then resumed twice (te consule, 33; noscenda est mensura sui, 35) and each time followed by a rather absurd example (... Curtius aut[20] Matho buccae, 34; etiam cum piscis emetur, ... 36 f, which surely recalls Cato's dictum on the price of fish[21]); like cobwebs in the purse,[22] ne mullum cupias, cum sit tibi gobio tantum in loculis (Sat.11. 37 - 38) invites visualisation and approaches the farcical.

The thesis refert quis eadem paret; γνῶθι σεαυτόν is subjected to irony: the distinction between the people involved fails when they are regarded as points in a process of transition, and the Delphic maxim is trivialised. It had been applied to money[23] and the idea that morality is related to the purse was later propounded in all seriousness under the concept of sufficiency.[24] Juvenal's subject matter, luxury

related/.....

related to food, was commonplace, as the commentators show, but the line he takes is novel, witty and effective.

The idea of the rake's progress is carried further in lines 38 ff. In the passage 38 - 45 we are asked quis manet exitus? and led to contemplate the wastrel's fear of old age rather than death. Already there is a hint at suicide, but before it becomes clear, Juvenal makes another approach: hi plerumque gradus (46), money borrowed and spent, then - suicide is again the apparent direction (Apicius has already been mentioned in line 3), but instead the wages of sin is a year on the coast with its sea food(25).

This section is introduced by enim (38) as support for the need to apply self knowledge. On one level the preceding section established the rich man's right to luxury; this section fails to provide a cogent reason for the bankrupt to give luxury up. An audience would perceive a burlesque of a moralising commonplace, in which the inadequacy of the commonplace moralising is fully laid bare.

To all intents and purposes the next section of the poem, opening with the address to Persicus comes as a surprise. The tone and direction are unheralded. Only a contrast between two ways of eating is carried over, but whereas the contrast in the introduction is between rich and poor gluttons, that in the sequel is between luxurious and moderate eating. This apparent (or blatant) discontinuity must have set up a tension in the

audience/.....

audience which it would naturally try to resolve. Resolution can only be completed near the end of the satire[26], but the audience's attempt to grasp it is a continuous activity throughout. Specifically, this has the effect of making the audience acutely aware of how Juvenal portrays both Persicus and 'himself'[27].

There is an element in the mythological apparatus in lines 60 - 63 which might be taken inter alia as friendly banter or veiled mockery of Persicus, but it is not till we reach the menu (Sat.11. 64 - 76) that a judgement can be made with anything like conviction. It is a distinctly odd menu and a number of factors conspire to suggest that Persicus is a satirical target.

I have argued elsewhere[28] that the food comprising the alleged simple dinner is not merely choice, but also suggestive of an effete health cure. The pinguissimus haedulus (a virtually unique diminutive) is given nearly four lines of description amounting in point of fact to little more than that it is tender. The tantalising description suggests, however, delicacy, easy digestibility and lack of thrift[29]. Montani asparagi is virtually health food: it is also distinguished with an effete spondaic end. Eggs with their own mothers is a unique item, ingenious rather than rational in terms of either cooking or farming. Eggs (like the subsequent fruit) are compatible with the earlier salubrious suggestions while not positively advancing them. The fruit is choice (is it really domi nata as line 64

ought/.....

ought to suggest?) and attached to this (final) item is a heavy emphasis on the aspect of health (Sat.11. 75 - 76). The food comes from the Tiburtine estate; at the end of the poem, it emerges that the dinner is in Rome (Sat.11. 197 - 198)(30): two epigrams of Martial build up expectations and dash them in a similar way (Mart 7. 31; 10. 94) and may confirm the suspicion that in the case in hand food bought from the markets in Rome need not have been extravagant compared to the meal Persicus is offered(31). In Ep.1. 15 Pliny humorously rebukes Septicius Clarus for preferring a luxurious dinner to his simple meal. But Pliny's avowedly simple menu includes mulsum cooled by snow, distinctly a luxury, and other passages show that affluent Romans liked pretending their tastes were simple, or being flattered for having simple tastes(32).

It is innocuous to explain afterwards (77 ff) that such a meal would in the old days have been thought quite luxurious (Sat.11. 77 f), but it is clearly subversive to mention in advance the worthy porridge (cf. Sat.11. 108; 14. 171) and beans: Juvenal writes experiere hodie ... si laudem siliquas occultus ganeo, pultes / coram aliis dictem puero sed in aure placentas (Sat.11. 56 - 59) only to forget pultes and siliquae immediately. Is he then depicting himself as a hypocrite criticising hypocrisy? As yet three factors are relevant, though not conclusive, but more clarity accumulates towards the end of the satire. Firstly there is Persicus' name, which suggests luxury. This gives a fairly clear indication about Persicus, but does not exonerate

the/....

the speaker. Secondly there is some generic evidence. In such invitation literature it is common to find that the addressee is of higher status than the speaker and that the speaker plays on the modesty of the meal (or wine in an invitation to a symposium) in comparison with what the other is used to[33] (certain other hints substantiate the suspicion that Persicus is used to, or even expects, better[34]). Without further argumentation (see below) it could not be asserted, however, that Persicus is being criticised for this: Pliny does not seriously rebuke Septicius Clarus for preferring a fine dinner with Gaditane dancers to his own modest one[35]. Thirdly there is the tone of the introduction. The irony there is complex. Firstly there is the position that one's level of luxury must be related to one's purse, which would allow the logic 'I cannot afford the luxury you are used to, Persicus' (cf. Sat.11. 171); this line is inexplicitly undermined, as already indicated. Then there is the indignant tone used against those who spend all on luxury (Sat.11. 38 - 55); this too is undermined, as argued above, but in such a way that the moralistic indignation is seen to be inadequate, not that the phenomenon of luxurious behaviour is seen to be acceptable. This predisposes the audience to see a complex or at least inexplicit criticism of Persicus by the speaker in what follows.

Caution is necessary. The introduction cannot be taken as part of the address to Persicus, for the satiric argumentation would be too obviously critical. We have then two separate and differently directed sections of which the first is like the

tenth/....

tenth satire in being a satiric lecture, the second is a piece of extended ethopoeia. Perhaps Juvenal plays the role in the second section of a genuine (poorer) friend of Persicus, undermining that role for his satiric purpose from the outside(36). Certain passages in this section may be taken as suggesting a critical attitude to Persicus, particularly towards the end of the satire, but the issue is complicated.

According to its face value the section which follows the menu expounds the relativity of values: Juvenal distinguishes 'his own' simplicity from modern luxury, but also from ancient strictness, which is itself internally variegated. Rather as morality was related to the purse in the introduction, here it is related to the society in which one lives. Both concepts give a sort of justification for luxury, and therefore set no real limits on Persicus' behaviour (and only financial ones on the speaker who is to be taken as the less rich). This idea of relativity is radically different from the normal moralising use of the contrast between the good old days and the present. It has been seen as contributing to 'the attractiveness of the poem' in that in it 'Juvenal ... does not insist on the application of a rigid set of standards.'(37) On the other hand it is part, I take it, of the reason for Bramble's description of the use of the past in Sat.11 as 'the most anarchic' in the satires(38). The subversion of the motif goes further. If morality is to be based on such relative terms its absolute validity seems weakened(39) and it is noticeable that Juvenal expends irony on

the/.....

the good old days, here as elsewhere.

The passage begins with a light hearted look at a particularly well-worn commonplace[40] tricked out with reminiscence of Baucis and Philemon (Ov. Met. 8. 646 - 648)[41]; the light-heartedness removes any critical contrast with the meal offered to Persicus and the principle of relativity is established. Thus, applied to Persicus the tone is in no way offensive; as the passage proceeds the standard moralizing tone, critical of luxury, appears, but is taken to such an extreme (Sat.11. 90 - 92, 100 f) that omnia tunc quibus invideas, si lividulus sis (110) wholly fails to convince. The rudis miles (cf. Prop. 4. 1. 27) is as unattractive as the montana uxor saepe horridior glandem ructante marito[42]. It would be too easy, however, to assert that Juvenal is simply playing the part of a man making fun of ideals, outmoded in his opinion, to a sympathetic listener (Persicus). The luxurious behaviour treated in lines 94 - 95 is, after all, made to seem ludicrous. The same difficulty arises in the following sections, where luxury seems to be criticised, but where the speaker inserts the comment ergo (inferential) superbum / conuivam caueo, qui me sibi comparat et res / despicit exiguas (Sat.11. 129 - 131) which transfers the emphasis of the criticism of luxury from moral to social considerations.

What appears to be happening is as follows: Juvenal has, by means of the introduction, set up a relationship between himself as speaker and the audience. He then turns aside to play a different role and a relationship with Persicus is established.

But/.....

But the first relationship does not just disappear. It remains so that the audience implied by the introduction is meant to 'overhear' the speaker's address to Persicus. Thus while the basic outline of the second part of the satire is an invitation couched in traditional terms moulded to a superior addressee the speaker sometimes inserts material intended for the introduction-audience which satirizes luxury and the moralistic response, but still 'addressing' Persicus. There is, as it were, a series of private jokes shared between speaker and audience against the newcomer, Persicus(43). It may be stated, then, that Sat.11. 77 - 116 indirectly indicate the bankrupt values of the Persicus type (by the nature of the address to Persicus) and also satirize luxury and the moralistic response to it (a function which is connected very closely with that of the introduction).

The same line is taken but less marked in the next sections: Sat.11. 129 - 131 have already been noted and lines 136 - 144 repeat the contrast of lines 93 et seqq., but in a less anarchic form - the absurdity of luxury is clearer and the basis for abstaining from it correspondingly less shaky.

From line 162, however, the tone becomes as complex a mixture of extremes as the introduction. Furthermore, certain reminiscences of the introduction make it clearer than hitherto that Persicus is to be seen in the perspective of the introduction.

forsitan expectes ut Gaditana canoro

incipiant/...

incipiant prurire choro plausuque probatae
ad terram tremulo descendant clune puellae.
spectant hoc nuptae iuxta recubante marito
quod pudeat narrare aliquem praesentibus ipsis,
inritamentum veneris languentis et acres
divitis urticae [maior tamen ista voluptas
alterius sexus]; magis ille extenditur, et mox
auribus atque oculis concepta urina movetur.
non capit has nugas humilis domus....

Sat. 11. 162 - 171[44]

The rhetoric of salaciousness and the rhetoric of indignation are not always clearly distinguishable (in lines 163 - 164 alone there is little to decide the matter), sometimes concentrating on the same aspects of a situation. Quod pudeat ... has a clear pejorative indication, but is not especially prominent. Furthermore, non capit has nugas humilis domus ostensibly reduces the question to one of finance[45] a line which is developed explicitly in what follows (Sat. 11. 171 ff; 176 - 179). On one level this coheres with the suggestion that Persicus might in fact expect Gaditane dancers at the dinners to which he is invited[46] and with the lascivious rather than outraged tone which forsitan expectes gives to lines 162 - 164; on the other hand there is a very clear connection between lines 176 - 178 and both 1 - 3 and 21 - 23 in the satirical introduction. In addition the inadequacy of the dual values described is made

clearer/.....

clearer by the emphatic language of lines 172 - 175. Here it is very clear that the speaker is addressing Persicus in a way that suits him up to a point, but is also coloured for the benefit, as it were, of the audience created by the introduction. Persicus is, then, being assimilated to the objects of the satire in lines 1 - 55.

In the last section of the poem the double perspective persists. Lines 193 - 202 comment on the games with what is, on the whole, a mild social superiority (note the polite formula in lines 195 f): spectent iuvenes, quos clamor et audax / sponsio, quos cultae decet adsedisse puellae (Sat.11. 201 - 202) makes the question one of social decorum. The attitude is very much that of Pliny (Ep. 9. 6) and Cicero (ad Famm. 7. 1); only lines 199 - 201 (nam si deficeret (the greens), maestam attonitamque videres / hanc urbem veluti Cannarum in pulvere victis / consulibus brings in an element of the contrast with antique morality[47]. On the whole, at the very worst these lines are not explicitly critical of Persicus: it would be closer to the truth to say they are a performance of friendliness aimed at Persicus. The previous lines (183 - 192) are a similar performance, but being clearly ironic (and being close to the clearly ironic lines at Sat.11. 171 ff) they are in large part the factor which shows that Sat.11. 193 - 202 is merely an ad hominem performance. The invitation to forget cares awhile is commonplace[48], but the tasteless enumeration of cares in Sat.11. 185 - 192 could not be

addressed/.....

addressed to a friend[49]. These lines are clearly meant to be 'overheard' by the audience implied by the introduction (with which, of course, the audience in front of which the whole poem was performed is identified[50]). Particularly interesting is the mention of fenus which is to be conspicuous by its absence, and more conspicuous, because it is mentioned (Sat.11. 185 - 186), a normal function of praeteritio, for it recalls the use of the word (in the same case and sedes) twice in the introduction (Sat.11.40; 48) and tightens the link between the treatment of Persicus and the introduction[51].

Finally:-

> iam nunc in balnea salva
> fronte licet vadas, quamquam solida hora supersit
> ad sextam, facere hoc non possis quinque diebus
> continuis, quia sunt talis quoque taedia vitae
> magna : voluptates commendat rarior usus.
>
> (Sat.11. 204 - 208)

The speaker urges Persicus to go to the baths at an hour unprecedented in literature: nam festo laetoque die convivia tempestiva non sunt turpia et inhonesta[52]. He proceeds to say that even this moderate degree of luxury would soon pall. That extreme pleasure is short lived was a commonplace[53], hence Juvenal's pointedness, constituting an a fortiori argument: if comparatively moderate luxury brings taedia magna, luxury of the kind Persicus is suspected of is all the more in need of rarior usus. Accordingly it might be thought that the 'simple meal' is a refreshing course as if to restore Persicus' enjoyment of luxury[54].

Both/.....

Both food and the contrast with an older morality are commonplace of Roman moralising[55], one as a motif and the other as a basis. Juvenal subverts the basis and parodies the moralistic approach to the motif, so that he questions any basis for moral values. A tenuous feeling remains that luxury is somehow unsatisfactory, but it is not complacent as Seneca, for instance, can be. The address to Persicus provides an example of how useless the moralising attitude is - the idea of relativity is not just an easy answer, it is a justifiable one - but also leads in the end to an undeniable conclusion that luxury cannot be continued perpetually or it becomes self defeating (a similar group of themes is developed in Sat. 10). Persicus is, then, the test case for a moral question and the movement of the satire is from assimilating 'Juvenal's' position to Persicus', to assimilating Persicus' to that of the objects of the introductory satire. What gives stability is the perspective given by the relationship created between the speaker and the audience in the introduction. I have called this fixed position, cumbrously, the 'audience implied by the introduction' : the term is related to Hodgart's comments on irony[56], 'Irony ... is the systematic use of double meaning. It also assumes a double audience [my italics], one that is deceived by the surface meaning of the words [Persicus], and another that catches the hidden sense and laughs with the deceiver at the expense of the deceived. This usually involves a persona ... or a fictional character assumed by the satirist'[57].

CHAPTER 10

SATIRE TWELVE

As in the fifth, ninth and (less obviously) thirteenth satires Juvenal uses here a cast of three, Corvinus, Catullus and the speaker, and the relationship between them is of considerable importance for the interpretation of the poem. Some elements are very clear (as will emerge below), but there are pronounced difficulties with regard to the speaker's attitude. I propose to discuss lines 1 - 92 with a view to isolating the problem which will then be considered.

The first part of the poem can be crudely divided into five : the sacrifice (1 - 16), the storm (17 - 34, reappearing spasmodically thereafter), Catullus' goods (34 - 53), the calm and escape (62 - 82) and the sacrifice resumed (83 ff). There seems to be a certain amount of irony in each block of material. The poem begins with joyful effusions and a proposal for a sacrifice which is expressed in terms of a contrast between the actually possible sacrifice and that which would be performed if funds were forthcoming (Sat.12. 1 - 14). Such a contrast is related to the commonplace by which an impecunious poet addresses a rich patron and contrasts quantitatively different, but equally sincere, sacrifices.(1) It is less usual to contrast the sacrifice that one does propose with another that one might perform under other

circumstances,/.....

circumstances, presumably in part because such a turn would emphasise the smallness of the actual sacrifice. Such a contrast is not, however, unparalleled. At Tristia 1. 10. 43 - 44 Ovid writes

haec si contigerint, meritae cadet agna Minervae:
non facit ad nostras hostia maior opes.

It is clear that the scale and emphasis is radically different from that in Juvenal. At Catalepton 14 'Virgil' promises Venus that if the Aeneid goes well he will not make small but large offerings. This is just the reverse of Juvenal's context and emphasises the grand offerings that will be made. Finally the closest parallel comes from a generically related poem by Statius (Silv. 1. 4. 127 ff) :-

qua nunc tibi pauper acerra
digna litem? nec si vacuet Mevania valles
aut praestent niveos Clitumna novalia tauros,
sufficiam. sed saepe deis hos inter honores
caespes et exiguo placuerent farra salino.

Here the form nec si ... sufficiam and the final conceit preserve the panegyric proprieties.

This comparison has shown a certain peculiarity in the

beginning/.....

beginning of Sat.12. Reminiscence of Sat. 6. 47 - 49 may help to confirm this impression.

There is a further peculiarity in the transition to the storm passage. The speaker describes his proposed sacrifice in a self enclosed passage (1 - 9) and proceeds:-

> si res ampla domi similisque adfectibus esset,
> pinguior Hispulla traheretur taurus et ipsa
> mole piger, nec finitima nutritus in herba,
> laeta sed ostendens Clitumni pascua sanguis
> et grandi cervix iret[2] ferienda ministro
> ob reditum trepidantis adhuc horrendaque passi
> nuper et incolumem sese mirantis amici.
>
> (Sat.12. 10 - 16)

The disturbing feature is the way in which the reason for the speaker's joy, Catullus' escape, is only expressed in a prepositional clause appended to the emphatic and whimsical (Hispulla) description of the unreal sacrifice, and suggests some degree of frivolity. Exaggeration is to be avoided: the indication of Catullus' identity by identifying noun rather than name could betoken casualness or coolness, otherwise it could be an indication that he is not to be thought of as known to Corvinus[3]. The latter does not seem to be a completely sufficient explanation, for it must be pointed when Juvenal delays Catullus' name for twelve

lines/.....

lines (17 - 28) in which there is clear levity (at least) at Catullus' expense.

By line 16, then, the audience may begin to have doubts about the amicus (16). The storm passage (Sat.12. 17 et seqq.) confirms them. It has generally been seen as involving some frivolity[4], but omnia fiunt / talia, tam graviter, si quando poetica surgit / tempestas (Sat.12. 22 - 24) is absurd, since a storm in a poem is exactly what the storm in Sat. 12 is[5]. The transition to the list of goods is made by way of a comparison between Catullus and a beaver:-

> (decidere iactu) ... imitatus castora, qui se
> eunuchum ipse facit cupiens evadere damno
> testiculi : adeo medicatum intellegit inguen.
>
> (Sat. 12. 34 - 36)

Here the tone is critical and mocking. The beaver understands the value of its inguen to the hunters (intelligit, 36), but Catullus' goods have no value for the sea: it is their weight that should be at point, but in line 38 and in the subsequent list it is rather the quality and the expense which are emphasised. Indeed the order of items clearly does not follow the criterion of weight (vestem ... alias ... argentum ... lances ... cratera ... bascaudas ... mille escaria, multum caelati, Sat. 12. 38 - 47), but context and description show that the first item (far from the

heaviest) /.....

heaviest) is particularly choice. It is as though Catullus has an illogical and absolute regard for wealth, irrespective of circumstances(6). It is certainly implied by the passage that Catullus regards loss of money as a form of emasculation(7).

The list of goods itself stresses this idea whether they are to be imagined as Catullus' private possessions, or as his merchandise as a trader, a standard satiric target(8). The associations woven around the crater (44 - 45) and the caelatum (46 - 47) are gross and corrupt. Closely following the list is the comment:

iactatur rerum utilium pars maxima, sed nec / damna levant

(Sat. 12. 52 - 53). It is hard not to see here a sarcastic reference to the goods just listed(9). The suggestions of wealth and possibly trade which are brought by Catullus' name (s.v. Chapter 3) emerge here.

Some writing compounded of the commonplace and the odd(10) leads into the calm after the storm which is as absurdly exaggerated as the storm was, and equally abrupt(11). In lines 62 ff a triple postquam is concluded with a periphrastic study of the weft of the fates which is both excessive in itself and also reminiscent in structure of Umbricius' lines on a similar theme (Sat. 3. 26 ff), Frivolous mythological references follow and the whole episode is summed up with the collocation gaudent ubi vertice raso/ garrula securi narrare pericula nautae (Sat 12. 81 - 82) : re-

joicing/.....

joicing, buffoonery, prattling, freedom from care and chat respectively characterise the words up to pericula nautae and turn those words into something suggesting 'sailors' yarns'(12).

A lack of serious involvement with Catullus' fate has been increasingly visible. After this the return to the motif of religious rites can hardly be taken seriously. Nevertheless, the subsequent change of direction in neu suspecta tibi sint haec, Corvine, ... (Sat. 12.93) is deprived of obvious comic effect because the language of lines 83 - 92 seems innocuous: the unexpected absence of humour or irony in the passage to which haec (93) in the first instance refers is curious, and raises doubts about the manner in which we are meant to imagine Corvinus' perception of the speaker's tone.

There seem to be three possibilities: (i) Corvinus is to be seen as unaware of the speaker's irony at Catullus' expense, in which case the irony would also, presumably, suggest a critical attitude to the values of a Corvinus capable of sympathy for such a figure as Catullus; (ii) Corvinus is to be seen as aware of the irony and therefore, presumably, as sharing the speaker's attitude; (iii) the question does not arise, since we are dealing with a piece of Juvenalian opportunism: Juvenal wanted a storm parody and decided to add satire on captatio. The difficulty with the first reading would be that one would not be able to explain why the speaker performs any sacrifice at all if his private attitude (i.e. not shared with Corvinus) is one of

uninvolved/.....

uninvolved levity(13). In the second case this difficulty may be deferred by arguing that the act of sacrifice is sincere and that speaker's levity is assumed ad hominem; but the function of ad hominem levity would be obscure. On one hand banter about a third party unknown to the addressee(14) would be pointless, on the other the impetus of the humour would achieve little if construed as ad hominem irony. The difficulties of both these readings are closely connected and suggest a false approach. There is a great deal to be said for regarding these inconcinnities as the result of Juvenalian opportunism, the third possibility outlined above. This answer, however, needs a due consideration of what the opportunity is, how it is used and what effect it has.

The apparent dilemma raised in (i) and (ii) above stemmed from an overemphasis on a synthetic view of the relevant part of the poem as a whole. In the third satire such an approach was satisfactory as far as it went, but missed an important element of the poem. Here the approach leads to confusion and it is especially necessary to consider the poem as a temporal process, or performance.

The speaker promises a sacrifice and contrasts this with what he would do if he could afford it (the irony or humour here is not pronounced). The reason is given: a friend has undergone a fate which is treated to considerable facetiousness. The fate involved Catullus behaving like a beaver and discharging

some/.....

some luxury items. The fact of sacrificing for Catullus is in tension with the tone of mockery used of his escapade and when it emerges (in the list of goods at Sat.12. 38 ff, aided by his name) that he is wealthy the audience might well become suspicious. The oddity is enhanced by the lack of blatant humour in the resumption of the sacrifice theme at Sat.12. 83 - 92. Against this background, the emphasis on suspicion in the address to Corvinus at line 93, neu suspecta tibi sint haec, Corvine, ... suggests that Juvenal has carefully led the audience into suspicion of the speaker's motive and is now confirming (by means of the protestation of innocence in line 93) that that suspicion was justifiable (and justified?). It emerges immediately, however, that it was wrong: parvos / tres habet heredes (94 - 95)[15] insinuates that Corvinus has jumped to a false conclusion because his attitude to amicitia has been debased by the phenomenon of captatio. It follows that, by leading the audience into the same suspicion, Juvenal is insinuating very much the same thing about the audience.

It might be felt that the subsequent satire on captatio would have had more edge if a clear contrast with a real friendship were made[16], but this is to miss the Juvenalian device of incriminating the audience[17]. The transition to captatio has been prepared for and effected, not exactly with a surprise effect; the treatment does involve a surprise. Corvinus' suspicion (in line 93) and his name foster an association of him with captatio![18]

while/.....

while captatio, as expected, assumes paramount importance in the second half of the poem (Sat.12 93 ff), Corvinus virtually disappears and Pacuvius Hister is introduced as a satiric butt. But the association of Corvinus with captatio cannot be nullified by Pacuvius' rise to prominence (any more than a Tacitean rumor) and it is easiest and most natural to see the criticism of will-hunting as diverted to Pacuvius in order that the speaker may preserve a semblance of tact in addressing a suspected captator. There seems to be a close parallel for the substitution of another target for a protagonist in Sat. 8, where there is confusion as to whether Ponticus or Rubellius Blandus is the'real' target in the first seventy lines.

In the twelfth satire Juvenal starts from a literary situation (like that of Hor. O. 3.8) and develops it in an ironic manner(19). The conflict in demands of writing for the audience and speaking for the addressee produces a parody of a panegyric genre (soteria) showing, as elsewhere in Juvenal, a traditional pair, here the captator (Corvinus) and a potential victim (Catullus), and making the usual relationship manifest as simplistic.

CHAPTER 11

SATIRE THIRTEEN

Like the eleventh and twelfth satires, the thirteenth can be described in terms of its relationship to one of the occasions for which rhetorical precept or literary tradition had developed a distinctly recognisable form[1]. In this case the relationship is more tangible since the *consolatio* is common and also the subject of ancient discussion[2]. In the eleventh and twelfth satires it was a generic expectation that the speaker should be on good terms with the addressee and this gave rise to some of the irony in those satires, which could reasonably be called an ironic *invitatio* and an ironic *soteria*. Although the moralising content (in *Sat.*11) or the application (of *Sat.*12) may be subject to irony there is no point in asserting that the genres *per se* are satirized (contrast *Sat.*3 (declamation) and *Sat.*4 (epic)). But the term irony has been used in a rather loose way in much recent literature on the thirteenth satire, being extended to cover the form, *consolatio*, itself[3].

A resumé of the scholarly discussion will provide a basis for proceeding. The scholia have on line 16 *interrogative ipsum increpat* and on 33 *inrisive, quasi iterum puer ...*: of the two comments the second clearly shows appreciation that the speaker is taking a critical line against Calvinus. The misinterpretation in the first comment had been corrected by Lubinus' time[4],

for/.....

for Schrevellius' variorum (1648) gives the scholium as interrogative ipse increpat and quotes Lubinus' expansion cum interrogatione et quasi admiratione objurgat Calvinum. Lubinus' expansion of the scholium on 33 is also quoted: acriter objurgat simul jam et vexat Calvinum, suo more irrisorie contraria conjungens, and on senior, quasi dicat: iterum puer senex, ... Thomas Farnaby offered similar brief indications (1662) in his heading to Sat.13 and his note on 33. Prateus (1715) has salsissima undequaque ironia on the same line. Ruperti's introductory comments include (1819): Consolationis etiam momenta proponit exquisitissima et ad vulnus Calvini sanandum efficacissima. Eadem aptissima quoque est ingenio satirico. Neque enim poeta eidem indulget dolori ...sed acriter obiurgat eum ... Inde occasionem petit, corruptos seculi sui mores, a priscis valde diversos, ineptamque theologiam, tamquam praecipuam improbitatis causam, notandi. Macleane (1867) writes in his introduction to the satire, 'Juvenal writes to [Calvinus] ridiculing his wrath ...' Mayor (1878) writes of Juvenal's 'lofty Stoicism', but holds that 'the effect is marred by verbosity'. The 'lofty Stoicism' or 'near Christianity'[5] was an aspect primarily of attitudes of the 19th century[6]; such commentators felt embarrassed by the ostentatious art and rhetoric of the poem. Ruperti had written as follows:- Neque tamen dissimulo, quae severo iudici in hac Satira displicere possint et naevi sint corpori egregio inspersi. Primum enim gravissimarum vis sententiarum passim (v. 23 seq. 40 seq. 62 seq. 162 seq.) ostentatione artis et intempestiva doctrina ac frigida declamatione infringitur.

This/.....

This embarrassment is visible in Mayor's comments and Macleane's apologia (p. 290 f).

More recent scholarship has naturally and rightly emphasised a critical attitude to Calvinus; on this point there is large agreement from the time of the scholia. Dissent has come concerning the degree, direction and location in the poem of irony. Pryor, Anderson, Fredericks, Edmunds and Morford have taken the whole poem as ironic at Calvinus' expense and there has been a growing emphasis on the idea of parody of the form which was foreshadowed by the concern Ruperti expressed for the ostentatious art(7).

Courtney gives considerable credence to this position(8); in support he draws attention to, inter alia, a number of the passages which Ruperti had already noticed (in the passage quoted above). Thus Sat.13. 38 - 52, 78 - 83, 64 - 70, 162 - 173 (in that order) are designated instances of commoratio intended, Courtney supposes, to caricature 'the exaggeration which [Juvenal] implicitly criticises in Calvinus; the victim allows himself to be carried away by resentment, and the consoler mimics the torrent of his denunciation'(9). But Courtney is distinguished from other recent commentators in holding that the poem 'starts off ironically but turns serious half-way through'(10).

It is clear that there is criticism of Calvinus in the first part of the poem (Sat.13. 1 - 173), but this does not justify the

attempt/....

attempt to argue that the poem is written tongue in cheek. Reeve, in his review of Courtney's commentary concedes humour in 38 - 59, which he prefers to call burlesque rather than irony, but states, 'I have not grasped what is supposed to be ironical about 1 - 173. Remonstration often plays a part in consolationes, and Calvinus' loss is so modest beside the usual subjects of consolationes that J. remonstrates with him throughout 1 - 192'(11). It is impossible to hold that Sat.13 1 - 173 constitute an ironic consolatio (in the sense usually applied to the words and obscurely accepted by Courtney), for the irony is really no more than a feature of the genre (see, e.g. Sen. Ep. 93 and esp. 99). The thesis that the satire becomes serious after line 173 is made more troublesome because the view of conscience in that passage is in strong tension with that of an earlier section (contrast Sat.13. 86 ff and 192 ff). Although the second main part of the poem (Sat.13. 174 - 249) is largely generalised, the presence of Calvinus at Sat.13. 221 f and of his perfidious friend at Sat.13. 244 ff binds the two main parts of the poem together so that the conflict between the two expressed views of the criminal's conscience, and the satisfying of Calvinus' desire for revenge rather than its assuaging (Sat.13. 192 - 249) support the application of the term 'an ironic consolatio' to the whole poem.

Reeve's criticism of Courtney's position is cogent and lucid. He deduces the following logic from Courtney's comments: 'because it shares certain features with consolationes, the poem is a consolatio; consolationes necessarily express sympathy; but

it does not express sympathy; therefore it is an ironical consolatio'(12). For clarity I summarise the underlying points in my own position. Subsequently I will analyse the satire and introduce some further considerations.

(i) 'Consolation' has a very wide range of social applications, but the most formalised kind is that dealing with the loss by death of people. (ii) Such consolation has considerable complexity in its social function. While its forms may be varied by circumstances of the loss, of delivery, and of participants, well established conventions are found and have advantages for all concerned. Obviously such conventions may vary considerably in different societies, just as the ways in which the deceased is mourned and the corpse disposed of vary widely. Thus the element of remonstration frequent in consolationes may be carried to a point which seems bizarre at first sight to us (Sen. Ep. 99).(iii) The question of the actual effectiveness of any given example of the genre is unanswerable, (the offering of a consolatio is an act which may have an effect, one way or another, irrespective of the author's verbal or intellectual competence), but a generalisation about the rhetorical mode is possible: (iv) speaking of Latin consolationes as rhetorical structures it can be said that their aim is to reduce excess or inappropriate emotion. In Juvenal's thirteenth satire, Calvinus is characterised as suffering a disproportionate anger extending to a desire for revenge. (v) It is not excessive to claim that Sat.13. 1 - 192 might on their own constitute a consolatio as outlined above,

using/.....

using irony as a technique of remonstrance (the common view until quite late in the current century). It is clear, however, that the rhetorical strategy of Sat.13. 192 - 249 is not to reduce Calvinus' desire for revenge, but to satisfy it. (vi) This means that at line 192 the speaker abandons consolatio. The capitulation is an admission that the consolatio has failed and means that the poem cannot be described accurately as a whole as consolatory. Furthermore the abandonment of consolatio characterises Calvinus' insatiability(13). On these grounds the poem would be more accurately described as an ironic consolatio than as a consolatio, and the irony arising from the change of tactic should be seen as part of the communication of the poem's 'meaning' and not as a technique of castigation or remonstrance within the consolatory form. There is probably also irony in the application of the consolatory form (usually dealing with loss of people) to the loss of money, suggesting the same confusion of values as is explicitly dealt with at Sat.13. 126 - 134(14).

A preliminary outline of the structure of the poem will facilitate discussion. While any attempt to subdivide Sat.13. 1 - 70 into clearly distinct sections would be artificial it is clear that lines 1 - 16 reveal the theme and explain Calvinus' situation. The contrast between experience and philosophy which follows does not mark the beginning of a new section, but is an identifiable point and corresponds to the beginning of the third main section of the poem (Sat.13. 120 ff).

16 - 70 The prevalence of crime:

- 16 - 22 Contrast of experience and philosophy
- 23 - 63 prevalence of crime; primal innocence
- 64 - 70 the good man: rarity topoi

71 - 119 Attitude to gods

- 71 - 85 *constantia* in perjury
- 86 - 111 lack of regard for gods
- 112 - 119 the victim despairs of the gods

120 - 173 The prevalence of crime

- 120 - 125 contrast (implicit) of experience and philosophy
- 126 - 161 prevalence and severity of crime
- 162 - 173 commonness topoi

174 - 249 Vengeance

- 174 - 192 victim desires human vengeance
- 192 - 235 divine vengeance
- 236 - 249 *constantia* in crime brings about vengeance

The poem opens with an opaque argument to the effect that if a criminal displeases himself, he ought to displease others even more[15]. These four lines foreshadow the theme of revenge which is to appear, and be rejected, at *Sat.*13. 174 ff. But the *sententia* about *prima ultio* (*Sat.*13. 2 - 3) is too trite[16] to be remembered as a serious disharmony when the audience reaches

the/....

the critical attitude of lines 174 - 192.

At line 5 the poem directs itself at Calvinus with the address. If the preceding lines are genuine, their function is to lead the audience to expect quid sentire putas homines, Calvine, recenti / de scelere...? (5 - 6) to be given an answer which looks sympathetically on a strong reaction to fidei violatae crimen. The question itself supports this, since recenti (5) reflects the common idea that a consolatio should be given after a decent interval: adflicto enim ... paulisper cedendum est; exsatiet se aut certe primum impetum effundat (Sen. Ep. 99. 1)[17]. With the next sentence, however, there is a sudden change of tack (marked by sed, 6) and it becomes clear that the use of recenti makes a point in the remonstrance against Calvinus: even allowing for the freshness of his loss, his attitude is disproportionate[18]. Lines 6 - 16 assert that Calvinus is of sufficient wealth to withstand such a trivial blow. The nature of the blow is revealed at lines 15 - 16, but the size is only indicated by means of the speaker's minimising rhetoric (levium minimam exiguamque malorum / particulam, 13 - 14) until 71. The effect of this is to give the impression that Calvinus' loss is objectively small and to allow the connotations of wealth inherent in the name (see Chapter 3, s.v.) to emphasise the suggestion of wealth made in line 7 and thereby stress the idea that Calvinus' anger (14 - 15) lacks perspective.

The audience is led, *via* some blatant mockery[19], to a parade of crimes (*Sat.* 13. 23 f) which further reinforces the poor impression of Calvinus. The criticism becomes most manifest at lines 33 f, *dic, senior bulla dignissime, nescis / ...nescis/ quem tua simplicitas risum vulgo moveat*. With the imputation of childishness a transition to the description of an age of primal innocence is effected. In this section the speaker draws a parallel between Calvinus' childlike values and the childish simplicity (cf. 35 *tua simplicitas*) of the Saturnian age and it is implied that Calvinus' moral system is connected with the conventional moralistic opposition of a good past and a degenerate present[20]. The loosely related idea that man makes or moulds gods in his own image and thereby justifies his behaviour lies behind this passage and helps to explain the child-images in *virguncula* (40) and lines 55 ff[21].

There is a particularly close connection between Calvinus and the morality made simple of the Golden Age in that both show a grossly disproportionate reaction to crime. Calvinus' fury at his loss (for that is the aspect emphasised rather than the bad faith of the *amicus* of line 15) is *flagrantior aequo* and *volnere maior* (cf. *Sat.* 13. 11 - 12) and described in strong terms (*Sat.* 13. 13 ff). The Golden Age is here characterised not as lacking sin (descriptions of primitive man usually attribute either moral excellence (as Tib. 1. 3. 35 ff) or amorality (as Lucr. 5. 958 ff)), but as punishing it with extreme severity:

credebant.../.....

credebant ... grande nefas et morte piandum / si iuvenis vetulo non adsurrexerat et si / barbato cuicumque puer, licet ipse videret / plura domi fraga et maiores glandis acervos (Sat.13. 54 - 57)[22]. Juvenal seems to be making a criticism of the morality which measures itself in the severity with which it punishes and not in the desirable behaviour of its upholders[23]. It is not hard to find suitable targets for such criticism in ancient literature. Petronius' portrait of Lichas in the Satyrica seems to have similar criticism in mind (see esp.Petr. 105. 4; 106. 2 - 4; 113. 2). There is also relevant material in Tacitus' description of the debate about the fate of the household of Pedanius Secundus after one of his slaves killed him, but Tacitus' attitude does not seem critical (Tac. Ann. 14. 42 - 45)[24]. There is a particularly apposite case in Ann. 3. 31, where Domitius Corbulo complained to the senate about Lucius Sulla quod sibi inter spectacula gladiatorum loco non decessisset and some laudatores temporis acti bring up antique censures on iuventutis inreverentiam in his support. Again Tacitus does not appear to be critical, but in both cases he does indicate that there were opposing views. Furthermore Petronius has Lichas justify himself against suspicions of being crudelis (Petr.106.3). A conscious collocation of acute nostalgia and severity is attested by Horace (A.P. 173 - 174) and in numerous senes in the fabula palliata[25]. Best of all, however, is the introductory part of an epigram in the Minor Declamations: verecunde nomine severitatis dissimulatur vestra crudelitas ([Quint.] Decl. Min. 260. 26).

The surface application of this passage (Sat.13. 38 - 59) is to illustrate by contrast the current prevalence of crime. However, the transition (exigis ...? quondam hoc more, 36 - 38), the childish portrayal of the gods (esp. lines 40 - 41) and the motif of age (55 - 59) whereby a barbatus, or younger, is equivalent to a senex (cf. Calvinus iterum puer), all make it clear that the description is not simply a more or less factual accusation that Calvinus is living by very antiquated ideals; the description is given in terms suggested by Calvinus' character and thereby suggests that Calvinus' ideals are out of touch with any reality, present or past. Accordingly when the surface value of the passage is completed in the contrasting (nunc) passage which follows (Sat.13. 60 ff), expressing the extreme rarity of the good man in current times, it is impossible to take the portentous language straightforwardly: the egregius vir may be rare now, but the preceding passage is ad hominem and cannot be pressed to show that there was ever a time when that was not the case. It follows that the portentous language of lines 61 - 70 reflects, as Courtney writes[26], 'the exaggeration which [Juvenal] implicitly criticises in Calvinus; the victim allows himself to be carried away by resentment, and the consoler mimics the torrent of his denunciation.'

In the first seventy lines of Sat.13 the speaker has directly ridiculed Calvinus for his anger (esp. lines 13 - 17, 33 - 35) and also given an indirect reflection of it in the language of

lines/.....

lines 36 - 70; as part of this process he has indicated the minuteness of Calvinus' lamented loss. The name Calvinus bears a suggestion of wealth and this emphasises the portrait of Calvinus' lack of perspective. It is when this position has been firmly established and the idea that the amount of Calvinus' loss is actually minimal is irrevocable, that the audience discovers the amount involved: Intercepta decem quereris sestertia fraude / sacrilega (Sat.13. 71 - 72). This amount represented two months income from the senatorial census at 5%(27); it was set as a maximum fee for lawyers' services by Claudius (Tac. Ann. 11.7). It could buy one very luxurious fish (prices up to HS 10,000 are attested(28)), three cooks (a rhetorical point made by Pliny, NH 9. 67), one skilled vine-dresser (Columella 3. 3. 8), about four adult slaves or ten slave boys or girls(29). The figure is half that specified by Naevolus as a reasonable income (Sat.9. 140)(30). By suggesting that Calvinus ought to regard the loss of such a sum as negligible Juvenal gives definition to the impression already adumbrated that Calvinus is immensely wealthy(31).

The first section of the poem, up to line 70, establishes that crime is common and that Calvinus' indignation is inappropriate and based on an unrealistic morality. The beginning of the second section uses a motif very like that of Sat.13. 23 ff, the prevalence of crime, to lead into an explanation of this prevalence. This explanation involves a description of modern effrontery in oath taking (Sat.13. 75 - 85) and a criminal

theology/.....

theology (86 - 111). The description shows the criminal piling oath on oath until he uses quidquid habent telorum armamentaria caeli (83): the plethora of divinities recalls and contrasts with the uncrowded heaven of Calvinus' Golden Age (45 ff). The theology contrasts in a general way with that implied by the Golden Age passage: its 'adult' cynicism is more realistic than the childish views that Calvinus seems to have. But this passage goes further in making the lack of substance of Calvinus' views clear, for when the criminal's cynicism is contrasted with Calvinus' ineffective prayers (Sat.13. 112 - 119) the outcome is that Calvinus abandons his faith in the gods (118 - 119)[32] and is thereby brought to the same position as the perjurors of Sat.13. 75 - 85.

The third section of the poem (Sat.13. 120 - 173) balances the first in underlying argumentation and in its initial and final motifs. The contrast between philosophy and experience at lines 120 ff recalls lines 19 ff and the concluding commonplace (commonness, 162 - 173) argues the corollary of that at lines 64 - 70 (rarity) and uses the same rhetorical technique. As to the argument, the bulk of the section argues two points already established: the mediocrity of Calvinus' loss (compare Sat.13.143 - 144 and 6 - 12) and the ubiquity of crime (cp. Sat.13. 135 ff with 23 ff and 71 ff). Although theme and arrangement are so similar in the first and third parts of the poem there are developments. At lines 126 - 128 the speaker allows Calvinus'

his lamentation *si nullum in terris tam detestabile factum / ostendis* (*Sat*.13. 126 - 127), and justifies this invitation as follows:-

> quandoquidem accepto claudenda est ianua damno,
> et maiore domus gemitu, maiore tumultu
> planguntur nummi quam funera; ... (*Sat*.13. 129 ff)

The use of words which imply logical connection (*si*, *quandoquidem*) is ironic, since the logic is false. The purpose of the passage (126 ff) is to suggest that greed is the paramount emotion and that this is the cause of Calvinus' lack of proportion(33). The use of the *consolatio* - form for loss of money is a reflection in generic terms of the theme stated in these lines (129 ff). Earlier Calvinus' 'theology' was seen to be unsubstantial and, in practise, little different from that of the criminal (an idea foreshadowed at *Sat*.13. 31 - 33): now it becomes clear that all Calvinus' attitudes and values are based on money.

With some more explicit mockery of Calvinus (*Sat*.13. 140 - 142) and a restatement of the mediocrity of his loss (143 - 144) Juvenal proceeds to an extended list (144 ff) of crimes worse than the one which has befallen Calvinus. Such lists have already occurred at lines 23 - 25, 72 - 74 and 135 - 139 and this one extends from line 144 to 156: the following lines give a conclusion indicating that the list could be extended indefinitely and that Calvinus should adjust his view (157 - 173). In this

extensive/....

extensive passage (144 - 173) there seems to be no significant development of ideas already used, nor any significant new idea. Furthermore, the ending of this passage (162 - 173) is trite (cf. Sen. dial. 3. 26. 3) and was censured by Ruperti (quoted above) and subsequent commentators as an example of ostentatio artis. In the structure of the thirteenth satire it is parallel to lines 64 - 70, equally trite and similarly censured and, as argued above, implicitly a mockery of Calvinus' indignant rhetoric. In addition, there are some difficulties in the argumentation of the passage, which, albeit rather slight, support those just mentioned in casting doubt on the function of the passage. Firstly, the organisation of the list of crimes (145 - 156) is unnecessarily obscure: particularly disruptive is line 150, haec ibi si non sunt, minor exstat sacrilegus .... Secondly, the last item in the list (155 - 156) is not expressed in terms which suggest the nature or atrocity of the crime (contrast 145 - 146), but which concentrate exclusively on the punishment (harsh and rarely performed) and with a rather odd emphasis on the injustice of the punishment as far as the innoxia simia is concerned(34). Such a concentration on penalties, it was argued above, seems to be part of the criticism of Calvinus earlier in the satire (see above); there may be grounds for seeing this passage as moulded in Calvinian terms. Thirdly, the use of the commonplace material at lines 162 ff involves a logical difficulty (none of the Pygmies smile at being snatched by birds, but are none indignant ?(35)), and a certain oddity (goitre and enormous breasts, the leading items, are not commonplace or decorous)(36).

The/.....

The essence of the material in Sat.13. 144 - 161 has already formed part of the speaker's case (lines 23 - 25, 72 - 74, 135 -139), but the greater extent and the oddities of lines 144 - 173, particularly the emphasis on punishment at lines 155 - 156 and the connection between lines 162 - 173 and 64 - 70, suggest that Calvinus' indignant rhetoric is being caricatured(37): an obsession with primal innocence and the good old days coheres very well with a faith in the prevalence of current evil and the combination is inherent in the locus de saeculo. The speaker here, then, uses Calvinus' own material against him, since it is used not to rouse, but to reject and mock indignation (cf. Sat.13. 140 - 144). According to this interpretation the commonplace material of Sat. 13. 162 - 173 will be seen as a parodic rejoinder to the Calvinian lines 64 - 70. It is also possible that the unsmiling Pygmy is intended as a direct caricature of Calvinus(38).

Just as the first and third sections of the poem (Sat.13. 1 - 70, 120 - 173) balance each other in structure and much of the content, so the fourth section echoes the second, although the arrangement and effect are quite different from that of the other pair.

The basic arrangement is as follows:- at Sat.13. 112 - 119 we saw Calvinus despairing of the ability of the gods to punish crime and at the beginning of the fourth section (Sat.13. 174 - 192) he contemplates human revenge. At Sat.13. 86 - 111 there

was/....

was an exposition of lack of regard for the gods and at the subsequent lines of the fourth section (192 - 235) there is a description of the effects of a considerable regard for the gods. At lines 71 - 85 the persistent oath taking of criminals was described and at 236 - 249 the final part of the poem, the criminal's persistence in crime is dealt with.

The consolatory argument has throughout the poem emphasised that Calvinus is overreacting. The earlier stress on the concept of punishment becomes transmuted into an emphatic treatment of vengeance in Sat.13. 174 - 192. The speaker is explicit in condemning Calvinus' desire for revenge. But at line 192 there is a drastic change of direction as the speaker begins to offer two possible satisfactions for this desire, both in strong tension with the whole tenor of the argument up to this point and also specifically with the material in earlier sections that they echo.

Firstly there is the penalty of conscience. This idea does occur in a very similar context in Seneca (dial.5. 26. 2 ff), but there it is a minor stage in the argument quickly replaced by a development which leads to the epigram placidiores itaque inuicem simus: mali inter malos vivimus (5. 26. 4) and circumvents the idea of vengeance(39). The transition ... vindicta / nemo magis gaudet quam femina. cur tamen hos tu / evasisse putes, ... (Sat.13. 191 - 193) makes it absolutely clear that vengeance is a continuing theme which is subject to a change of attitude(40).

That/.....

That the speaker suddenly offers Calvinus a chance of satisfying his desire for revenge suggests that he has realised the impossibility of quelling Calvinus' anger, which may suggest in turn that the loss of money cannot be consoled (cf. Sat.13. 129 - 134) and that Calvinus' moral values are merely a flimsy veil over self-interest. That both satisfactions are open to doubt suggests that the speaker is ironically playing on Calvinus' increasingly desperate and obsessive desire for revenge(41).

The doubts may be outlined briefly. However convincing most of the features of the punishment by conscience are(42), it is inescapable that the punishment (more severe than Caedicius or Rhadamanthus might give) is for a crime emphatically valued as slight throughout the poem and that the victims of such penalties, who fear the gods, are clearly the same class of people who showed blatant lack of fear of the gods at lines 86 - 111(43). It would be possible to interpret this difference in temporal and psychological terms: 'those who resolutely committed wrongs despising divine vengeance (92 sqq.) now interpret lightning (223 sqq.) and sickness (229 sqq.) as divine punishments'(44), 'yet the intrinsic nature of the criminal is fixed, so he will repeat the same hardened crimes'(45). But in order to defend successfully the speaker's ostensible case it would require to be demonstrable that all the atheists and impious types of lines 86 - 111 eventually become conscience-stricken. Since that is not the case it is clear that Juvenal has arranged a plausible

picture/.....

picture of the unconscionable criminal and a fairly plausible picture of the criminal plagued by conscience (with some irony at Calvinus' expense at lines 220 - 222). The two pictures can be set against each other as a kind of antinomy or ethical puzzle, but what it cannot do is irrefutably show Calvinus that his desire for the criminal's torture will be granted.

The second satisfaction offered to Calvinus' sense of loss is the nature of the criminal mind which will lead the criminal to commit one crime after another until he is caught and punished (Sat.13. 237 - 247). The incompleteness of this argument is of the same kind as in the previous lines: the picture drawn is plausible and possible, but far from inevitable and for Calvinus to get his revenge inevitability is required. The loophole is that the tenor of lines 3 - 4, 75 - 85 and 136 - 139 indicate that once caught even a patently guilty man may not be punished (cf. Sat.1. 48 - 50).

If, then, the speaker realises that Calvinus cannot be consoled in the more or less normal manner of lines 1 - 192, but believe that he can be 'consoled' by the tenuous hopes of indirect revenge offered in lines 192 - 247, by purveying such palpably unbinding hopes he is playing on and revealing Calvinus' misplaced and obsessive values. The last lines (247 - 249) provide two extra points in Juvenal's portrayal of the interaction between speaker and addressee. The first is that the thought of ultimate revenge restores Calvinus' faith in the gods[46]: poena gaudebis amara /

nominis/.....

nominis inuisi tandemque fatebere laetus / nec surdum[47] nec Teresian quemquam esse deorum (Sat.13. 247 - 249) connects the ideas of 'punishment' personal hatred and religious values. The second point provided by these lines concerns nominis inuisi. Calvinus would have known the name of his amicus (Sat.13. 15), but it is for him a hated name and he avoids it[48]. That is indicated by the use of nominis inuisi because there is no reason for the name to be hateful to the speaker. The speaker, then, whose tone has throughout been moderate or critical of Calvinus' indignation (directly or by mimicry), imitates Calvinus' indignant avoidance of the name of his defrauder in order to mock it. This is the opposite technique to that used in Sat.5, where the speaker frequently used Virro's name in order to rouse the abject Trebius.

In the thirteenth satire Juvenal rejects one moral position and espouses another. He rejects the simplistic moralisation of a contrast between the present and the past and implies that such a position is merely a justification for self satisfaction. This part of the poem's purpose is closely linked with the illusory contrast between the ironic depiction of the past and the satirical depiction of the present especially clear at lines 23 - 70. The espousal of a moral stance involves three elements: a criminal is to be judged according to (a) the position of the crime in relation to other crimes, (b) the victim's circumstances[49], (c) the criminal's mentality. The first aspect appears in the basic consolatory argument, the second in the indications of

Calvinus'/.....

Calvinus' wealth, and the third in the parallelism between Sat.13. 86 - 111 and 192 - 235. The characterisation of Calvinus exemplifies the rejected moral position and provides the material for elaborating the espoused one. As in other satires Juvenal portrays a victim and removes simplistic sympathy(50).

CHAPTER 12 /.....

CHAPTER 12

CONCLUSION

The evidence for the use of the protagonists within their respective satires has been set out. It is now possible to use a more general perspective so as to gauge the continuity of Juvenal's satiric corpus.

Amicitia, it has been observed, is a central theme in Book 1[(1)], appearing beyond those confines notably in the ninth satire. Naturally the protagonists of the relevant satires show numerous links: Umbricius, Trebius and Naevolus are all discontented clients[(2)], each more distasteful than the previous. Trebius and Naevolus are further linked by the connection in both cases with Virro. Just as the pair Trebius and Virro (Sat.5) is picked up by Naevolus and Virro (Sat.9) so Crispinus and Domitian (Sat.4) are reflected in Trebius and Virro (Sat.5).

More detail and a more tightly woven nexus can be achieved by bringing indignatio into the discussion. It is programmed in the first satire where the speaker espouses it (Sat.1. 79); there are also the irati amici of Sat.1. 146. Indignatio is exhibited in the second satire, primarily by the speaker, but prominently by Laronia as well (Sat.2. 36 - 65): Laronia's angry rhetoric, however, appears to be suspect[(3)]. The use of an ambiguous spokesman is extended in the third satire. The anger here is

predominantly,/.....

predominantly, or even wholly, attributed not to the speaker, but to Umbricius, and it is dissociated from Juvenal by the poem's ironical devices(4). If Umbricius' anger is suspect, that is not a criticism of indignatio itself. In the fourth satire, however, there seems to be an indication that anger is only possible against trivial targets; against intolerable circumstances it is dwarfed and unsatisfactory, and tends to be directed inappropriately elsewhere as a form of compensation. In the fifth satire Trebius combines an abject quality with repressed indignation, but at the end of the poem it emerges that Trebius has no grounds for indignation: if he endures Virro's behaviour, he deserves it.

It should be noted that Trebius is more degraded than Umbricius. However faulty Umbricius' resolve to leave Rome was, Trebius endures all he is made to. Umbricius shows in his speech how angry he is, but in Sat.5 the speaker addresses Trebius and appears to be indignant himself, but it is his apotreptic technique, playing on Trebius' anger by depicting all the indignities he will suffer at Virro's table(6). That is to say, the speaker's apparent indignatio is a reflection of the addressee's. But there are two places where the speaker shows that this indignatio is not his and that Trebius' (which he has been rousing) is not the proper response to the situation(7). At Sat.5. 107 ff the speaker apostrophises Virro and uses a calm and moderate tone which contrasts very strongly with the attitude,

abject/....

abject and indignant, of Trebius. Secondly in the last lines of the poem the speaker makes it altogether clear that Trebius has no valid grounds for complaint and that the indignant question of Sat.1. 139 - 140 (sed quis ferat istas luxuriae sordes?) is answered in Trebius' person(8).

The relationship of the ninth satire to the rest of Juvenal's work is complex(9). There is a development in the treatment of the theme of amicitia from that in the fifth to that in the ninth satire and this can be traced further back, to the portrayal of Umbricius as a less demoralised, but analogous figure; Umbricius and Trebius are major figures in their satires and thus compatible with Naevolus and easier to recall. The increasingly negative attitude to indignatio(10) is also relevant, for Naevolus and 'Juvenal' are strikingly contrasted in the degree to which they succumb. The culmination of this process is the openly critical attitude taken to Calvinus' indignatio(11).

In these poems there is careful characterisation of a dramatic situtation. Although throughout the satires one should emphasise the element of performance, there is a fairly distinct group of later satires (Sat.8. 11. 12) in which the performer as well as the composer shows awareness of the audience(12). In the eighth and twelfth (perhaps also the seventh) satires this awareness is connected with the literary manipulation of stock elements and unexpected or ironic treatment; in the eleventh it

is/.....

is clearly fostered by the unaddressed introduction[13]; in all cases it involves a double audience, the addressee and an audience the speaker knows is overhearing. There is a tendency to less realism in this group of satires, particularly noticeable in the problem of the degree to which Corvinus' awareness of irony is realised in Sat.12, a problem circumvented by considering the poetry as performance in the manner suggested. The ninth and thirteenth satires are more akin to the earlier satires: in the ninth the greater part goes to Naevolus who thus works like Umbricius and there is not the difficulty of sustaining irony which is extensive, realistic and perceptible. In the thirteenth the genre allows a sufficiency of remonstrance.

This crude categorisation of the satires is related to the diminishing role of indignatio[14]. Another tendency associated with the protagonists is more general. It is a persistent characteristic that Juvenal associates his protagonists with traditional pairs of oppressor and victim. Crispinus and Domitian, Trebius and Virro, and Naevolus and Virro are variations on the basic idea of rich mean patron and poor client (Umbricius implies such a polarity); Telesinus and Caesar are another variation of the same idea; Catullus and Corvinus suggest captator and captandus, Calvinus and the nomen inuisum are criminal and victim[15]. But in every case Juvenal subverts the simplistic opposition found in the moralistic tradition[16].

THE PROTAGONISTS IN THE SATIRES OF JUVENAL

VOLUME II

APPENDIX AND FOOTNOTES

APPENDIX

The Addressees of Hor. Epp. 1

i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii
	Form	line + word	2nd address	line + word	other	line + word	ttl lines
1. 1 ...	Maecenas	3[1]					108
1. 2	Maxime Lolli	1[4,5*]	puer	68[3]			71
1. 3	Iuli Flore	1[1,2]					36
1. 4	Albi	1[1]					16
1. 5	Torquate	3[5]					31
1. 6	Numici	1[7*]					68
1. 7	Maecenas	5[1]	dulcis amice	12[4,5]			98
1. 8	Celso Albinovano		Celse	17[7]	Musa (voc.)	2[1]	17
	(epistolic dative)	1[1,7*]					
1. 9	Claudi	1[2]			Septimius	1[1]	13
1.10 ...	Fuscum		Aristi	44[6*]			50
	(salvere iubemus)	1[3]					
1.11	Bullati	1[5]					30
1.12	Icci	1[6*]					29
1.13	Vini	2[5*]			Augusto	2[1]	
			(see col.vi)		Caesaris	18[1]	19
1.14	vilice	1[1]			Lamiae	6[3]	44

1.15 Vala /.....

1.15	Vala	1^{7}			46
1.16	optime Quincti	$1^{5,6*}$			79
1.17	Scaeva	1^{3}			62
1.18	liberime Lolli	$1^{6,7*}$	amice	106^{6}	112
1.19	Maecenas docte	$1^{4,5}$			49
1.20	liber	1^{3}			28

Column 1 indicates the epistle; column 2 indicates the form of address (all vocative unless patently or avowedly otherwise); in column 3 the position of the address is given (5^{5} means line 5, fifth word; 5^{5*} means line 5, fifth word which is also the last word); the remaining columns are self explanatory except that (vi) comprises prominent persons not actually the addressee, but in some sense intended recipients.

Certain tendencies are clear: addressees are prominent at the beginning (none later than line 5 on his first appearance), and, if specially favoured, near the end as well. Addressees not treated to an initial vocative are objects of banter: Celsus (Epp. 1. 8), admonished for his attitude to fortune, receives a mock grandiloquent epistolic dative with two names (a rarity; three cases out of eighteen named addressees[1]) disposed at first and last words of line 1[2]. The address to Fuscus (1. 10. 1) is a 'parody of a formal salutation.'[3] Only these two receive a second address by name.

Very /.....

Very like l. 8 is the indirect address to Augustus in l.13: here a named human replaces the normal papyrus or Muse in the convention of the epistolic dative(4). Similar is l.14 in which Lamia is a more likely intended recipient than a vilicus(5).

Adjectives (1. 7. 12; 1. 16. 1; 1. 18. 1; 1. 19. 1), name substitutes in second addresses (1. 2. 68; 1. 7. 12; 1. 18. 106) and appositional phrases (1. 1. 1f; 1. 10. 1) add variety, but the basic tendency confirms a firm preference for early vocatives and this goes towards supporting the observations made on Juvenal, since the epistles are generically closer to Juvenal's satires than lyric, elegy and other genres in which late addresses are more often found.

NOTES/.....

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1) See W.S. Anderson, YCS 17 (1961) 26 f, CPCPh 19 (1964) 127 ff (= Essays, pp. 421 ff and 293 ff). See also M.M. Winkler, The persona in three satires of Juvenal (Hildesheim, 1983), a work to which I have not yet acquired access (reviews: W. Kissel, Gnomon 56 (1984) 697 ff; R. Jenkyns, CR 35 (1985) 34 ff).

2) For Horace see W.S. Anderson, in G.K. Galinsky (ed.), Perspectives of Roman poetry: a Classics Symposium (Austin, 1974) 35 - 56 (= Essays, pp. 50 ff); Anderson in J.P. Sullivan (ed.), Critical Essays on Roman Literature: Satire (London, 1963) 1 - 37 (= Essays, pp. 13 ff); rather differently I.M. le M. Du Quesnay, in A.J. Woodman and D.A. West (edd.), Poetry and politics in the age of Augustus (Cambridge, 1984) 19 ff; very differently D.R. Shackleton Bailey, A profile of Horace (London, 1982). On elegy cf. A.W. Allen, CPh 45 (1950) 145 ff; M. Dyson, CQ 23 (1973) 127 ff; M.L. Clarke, G & R 23 (1976); J.C. Yardley, CQ 27 (1977) 394 ff. The concept of 'point of view' uses related terms with regard to fiction: cf. R. Beck, Phoenix 27 (1973) 42 ff; 29 (1975) 271 ff; Mus. Helv 39 (1982) 206 ff (on Petronius); R. Th. van der Paardt, in B.L. Hijmans and R. Th. van der Paardt (edd.), Aspects of Apuleius' Golden Ass (Groningen, 1978)

76 ff /.....

76 ff; cf. K. Dowden, CQ 32 (1982) 419 ff (on Apuleius). In general see also G. Highet, Hermes 102 (1974) 321 f; N. Rudd, Lines of Enquiry (Cambridge, 1976) 145 - 181; M. Stevens, Viator 9 (1978) 193 ff (on the twelfth century, but still relevant as a theoretical framework).

3) See K.J. Dover, in Fondation Hardt, Entretiens 10 (1964) 164, 201 - 205, 209 - 211; A.E. Burnett, Three archaic poets (London, 1983), 5.

4) Quint. 3. 8. 35 ff; 12. 10. 56, 'eius (= the judge's) vultus saepe ipse rector est dicentis' ut Cicero praecipit... nec id mirum sit, cum etiam testium personis aliqua mutentur; 12. 10. 59.

5) Sen. Suas. 1. 5 ipsa suasoria insolentiam eius (= Alexander's) coarguit (with context). Seneca makes the point with regard to suasoriae, but the relevance to Hor. O. and Epp. is obvious.

NOTES /.....

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1) In the terminology adopted by W.A. Anderson (CPh 57 (1962) 148 - 149; CPCPh 19 (1964) 127 f) the speaker is called the satirist; given the element of role playing in the satires one can sometimes say that the speaker is not a satirist, and one should always be able to say that the author of satires is a satirist.

2) 'Feigned' concurrence in Sat. 5 since the final words, tali dignus amico, puncture the impression. Juvenal does not come quite as close as Horace does (e.g. in Epp. 1. 17) to assuming a role which is felt to be subject to the poet's criticism without, but perhaps he comes closest to this in Sat. 9.

3) See F. Jones, AC1 26 (1983) 104 ff, and modifications in Chapter 11.

4) See D. Sweet, CSCA 12 (1979) 283 ff for an account of Sat. 4 based on the distinction between speaker and poet.

5) Cf. Hor. O. 1. 20 with N. - H.

6) Cf. Stat. Silv. 1. 4; F. Cairns, Generic Composition (Edinburgh, 1972) 286; the title given in the MSS

of/.....

of Silv. 1. 4 is soteria and there should be no doubt that Juv. Sat. 12 conforms to this type rather than that of welcome to a traveller (as Courtney calls it, p. 516; see Barr, LCM 6. 3 (1981) 86). The storm is not a normal part of such a welcome, whereas the thanksgiving in Sat. 12 is a naturally constituent part of the thanksgiving for a friend's safety.

7) Courtney, pp. 40 - 41, 424.

8) Lucilius also used the form: see e.g. 665 - 675 (W).

9) Hor. Sat. 2. 2 should also be noted, a report of a speech that has already been made, but less precisely related to the original occasion.

10) Cf. Lafleur, ZAnt 26 (1976) 393 ff.

11) This is confirmed by comparison with Hor. Sat. 2. 4 and 2. 7 as well. Cf. Lafleur, op. cit. (n. 10) 395.

12) Prop. 1. 3 illustrates this; Cynthia is well adumbrated, but not as well revealed to the audience as 'Propertius' (the speaker) is.

13) Courtney does not accept Virro as the name of Naevolus' patron/....

patron in Sat. 9 (p. 424). See Chapter 3, s.v. Virro for my case.

14) Cf. p. 6 above; Sat. 5. 173, tali dignus amico.

15) See F. Cairns, op. cit. (n. 6), 222 - 225.

16) Cf.Eicholz, G & R 3 (1956) 61 - 69; Lawall, TAPA 89 (1958) 25 - 31; see further Chapter 7 n. 25.

NOTES /.....

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1) See in general J.N. Adams, 'Conventions of naming in Cicero' CQ 28 (1978) 145 - 166. The general remarks in the introductory paragraphs are admirable. See also H.L. Axtell, CPh 10 (1915) 386 ff. For Lucretius cf. G.B. Townend, 'The fading of Memmius' CQ 28 (1978) 267 ff; D.W. Roller, CPh 65 (1970) 246 ff. What the speaker calls himself may be of importance for a poem's tone (cf. J. Evrard - Gillis, Latomus 36 (1977) 114 - 122 on Catullus), but is not a feature of marked importance in Juvenal. For Horace's treatment of the addressee in Epp.1 see Appendix .

2) In the Satires Horace names himself only at 2. 1. 18 (humorous) and has himself addressed by name only at 2. 6. 37 where there is a satiric point (cf. Sat. 2. 5. 32 - 33). Persius does not use his own name. Lucilius uses his at 763, 791, 814, 930, 1075(W). Of these 1075 is certainly in the mouth of an interlocutor. If this evidence seems to reduce the significance of the Juvenalian speaker not being addressed by Umbricius or Naevolus, the facts that Umbricius addresses the Quirites and Naevolus addresses Virro provide sufficient contrasts to make the oddity noticeable.

3) Cf. Ter. Ad. 276; Sen. Med.179 (arguably); 496,518;

Val. /.....

Val. Flacc. 4. 7; also (without name) Ter Andr. 877 with Donatus; Sen. Ag. 983; Juv. Sat.13. 16; etc.

4) Sat. 5. 135: The situation is a hypothesis based on the impossible condition of a wealthy Trebius, thus the friendly reiteration of the name in this line emphasises Virro's insincerity.

5) See further Appendix.

6) For Sat. 11 see below. For Sat. 13 see n. 14 below. Statius' Silvae do not conform to this tendency, but various factors, including genre, prevent this from affecting the point in hand.

7) See Chapter 3, s.v. Ursidius.

8) Cf. Hor. O. 1. 29. 1; 1. 33. 1 where the first word addresses are certainly chivvying.

9) Cf. Ov. Tristia 1. 1 where Ovid addresses his book and is much more oblique towards Augustus (see 69 - 70); cf. Clarke CR 22 (1972) 158 and n. 1, citing Mart. 5. 6, and also a number of epigrams for patrons other than the Emperor. Telesinus is taken as the addressee of Sat. 7 by Lubinus, Valla and (recently) Kilpatrick, YCS 23 (1973) 236 - 237, though not by Courtney (cf. his note at

Sat. 7. 25).

The placing of a vocative at such a point in a satire suggests he is a protagonist (Sexte at Sat. 2. 21 is in direct speech; Cynthia at Sat. 6. 7 is a stylistic allusion and the true address at 21 is clear; Gaetulice at Sat. 8. 26 has been anticipated by Pontice (Sat. 8.1)).Cf. Sat. 4. 24: there Crispinus and Crispinum (Sat. 4. 1, 14) make it clear that the address in line 24 is not formal, but emotive. Since that is not the case in Sat. 7, and since Hor. Epp. 1. 13 provides an analogy for the arrangement with Caesar, it seems reasonable to take Telesinus as addressee.

10) See further Chapter 7 below.

11) Cf. Sat. 11. 40, 48 and 185: the repetition of fenoris is one element linking Persicus to the satiric butts of the introduction.

12) Cf. W. Barr, LCM 6. 3 (1981) 86.

13) Sat. 11 an invitatio, Sat 12 a thanksgiving for the escape of a friend, Sat.13 a consolatio.

14) M.D. Reeve (CR 33 (1983) 30) makes the suggestion that

the/....

be deleted
the first four lines of Sat. 13: the satire would then begin like Sat. 8 and 15 - 16 (cf. also Sat. 12 and 14) and the surprise at Sat.13. 192 ff would not be spoiled.

15) See Courtney's parallels at Sat. 9. 1 - 2; add Varro Men. 8(B).

16) Naevolus uses 2 imperatives (Sat.9. 93. 135) and 2 second person verbs (Sat.9. 124 - 125) for the speaker.

17) Courtney (p. 424) rejects the identification of the patron with Virro in Sat.9: see Chapter 4 below, s.v. Virro.

18) Cf. N. - H. at Hor. O. 2. 5.

19) As often in Juvenal: see R.A. Lafleur, CB 51 (1975) 54 - 58; ICS 4 (1979) 158 - 177.

NOTES / .....

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1) See Lafleur and Pyne, *passim*.

2) Courtney, p. 17. Courtney holds that the addressees of Juv. *Sat.* 14 - 16 were real contemporaries of the poet, probably rightly.

3) C. Woodham-Smith, *The Reason Why* (Harmondsworth, 1958) 169. Note also the Catus who tricked an *improvidus* at Tac. *Ann.* 2. 27.

4) Hor. *Epp.* 1. 4. 1 *Albi ... candide* (cf. *Candida me docuit nigras odisse puellas*, *CIL* 4. 1520, after Prop. 1. 1. 5; for the capitalisation see Levin *TAPA* 100 (1969) 229 n. 23); Florus, in 1. 3. 1, is treated to a noticeable assonance (*oris*); Celsus (1. 8) and Scaeva (1. 17) have names which are "suspiciously appropriate" to their contexts (but of the two, only Scaeva's existence has sometimes been doubted). See too Mc Gann, *CQ* 13 (1963) 258 - 9 on *Asinae cognomen*. On Statius see RGM Nisbet, *JRS* 68 (1978) 8 with examples from Statius and others. See also K. Coleman, *PACA* 14 (1978) 9 - 10 on *Silvae* 4. 9.

5) C. J. Mendelsohn *Studies in the Word play of Plautus*

(Philadelphia, /....

(Philadelphia,1907); McCartney CJ 14 (1919) 343 ff.

6) J. C. Austin, The Significant name in Terence (Urbana 1922) 122. J.M. Snyder correlates different kinds of word play with different effects or functions (Puns & Poetry in Lucretius' De Rerum Natura (Amsterdam, 1980).

7) G.J.M. Bartelink, Etymologisering bij Vergilius (Amsterdam, 1965).

8) Giegengack's dissertation on Martial (J.M. Giegengack, Significant names in Martial, diss. Yale 1969 (DA 31. 1246 A f) attempts to classify according to how the play relates to the humorous goal of the epigram in question.

9) See Sen. Contr. 2. 4. 13 on Agrippa's attitude to his nomen.

10) The situations of New Comedy are reflected in the themes of Greek declamation. Although the surviving declaimers are late, the character of Roman declamation (attested earlier, but, it seems, derivative) suggests that this was always the character of the Greek form. The diffusion of this interest in ethos will have been greatly assisted by the declamatory education. On these matters see some further brief comments at the beginning of my account of Juv. Sat. 9.

11) On /.....

11) On the female names in the Odes see the excursus in Jones, 'Hor. O. 1. 33; 1. 22; 1. 9' in C Deroux (ed.), Studies in Latin literature & Roman History, IV (forthcoming); ROAM Lyne, The Latin love poets (Oxford 1980) 198 - 200; in general see J. Griffin, JRS 66 (1976) 87ff; M. L. Gordon, JRS 14 (1924) 93 ff; H. Herter, JbAntChr 3 (1960) 80 ff.

12) See P. Murgatroyd, CQ 30 (1980) 540.

13) See Hadas, AJPh 50 (1929) 378 f; J. Bremmer, Mn 34 (1981) 395 f. On Petronius' names in general see Grimal, RPh 16 (1942) 161 f; Schmeling, RSC 17 (1969) 5 f. For Trimalchio, cf. Malchio at Mart. 3. 82. 32.

14) Note the racial and social contrasts at Juv. Sat. 3. 131 - 136: this is by no means the clearest example; I cite it for its subtlety.

15) On these matters see M.L. Gordon, JRS 14 (1924) 98 ff.

16) See Gow - Page, GP (Cambridge, 1968) at 1311 - 1312. On Σικελὴ add Small, YCS 12 (1951) 112. λαικάζειν (see H.D. Jocelyn, PCPhs 26 (1980) 12 ff), λεσβιάζειν and δωριάζειν should be mentioned here.

17) See n. 4 above.

18) Nisbet /....

18) Nisbet, JRS 68 (1978) 8; the mistresses addressed by elegists have similarly resonant names: cf. O'Neill, CPh 53 (1958) 1 - 8; Randall, LCM 4 (1979) 27 - 35.

19) See Jones, ACl 26 (1983) 106 with n. 25.

20) See Giegengack (op cit., n. 8 above) and Pyne.

21) A small selection of far-fetched or irrelevant etymologies:- Ambrosius (6. 77) sweet; Apicius (4. 23; 11. 3) bee-sought = sweet; Chaerippus (8. 95) Χάρων + eripio; Cordus (1. 2; 3. 203 f) chorda = string of an instrument. Demosthenes (10. 114) people-strength; Fronto (1. 11) frons = thought; Persicus (3. 221; 11. 57) very dry; Posides (14. 91) possideo; Thais (3. 93; 6.026) θάομαι admire; Trebius (5) τριβακός threadbare; Ventidius (7. 199) ventio, come; Zeno (15. 107) Ζήν, Zeus. For Corbulo (3. 251) as basket (also in Courtney) cf. Goodyear's scepticism at PACA 16 (1982) 55; as regards Psecas (6. 491 f) from ψήχω, rub down (cf. Courtney a. l. and Schol.), I suspect that the reference to Ovid (Met. 3. 172) given by Ferguson (n. ad loc.) is more pertinent: in Roman verse the name occurs in only these two places, and both scenes are beautifications, in Ovid Diana's, which may suggest some irony.

22) As exx. I provide the following:-

acumen, /....

acumen, / Brute, tuum (4. 102 - 3); coram Lepidis male vivitur (8. 9); Euganea (8. 15: cf. εὐγενεῖς and see Pliny NH 3. 134); velox ... Lentulus (8.187, cf. Cic. ad Att. 10. 11. 2); ulcisci ... Vindice (8.222, cf. 4. 152; see Townend, JRS 63 (1973) 156 and Nadeau LCM 8. 10 (1983) 157; Griffith Mn 15 (1962) 260 - 261 on 8. 194; cf. also Suet. Nero 45. 2); Caprearum ... grege (10. 93 - 94, cf. Jenkyns, Three Classical poets (London, 1982), 177 n. 18); Phialen (10. 238; Courtney's comment ("Her name (cf. Ovid Met. 3.172) suggests that she liked the bottle") is nonsense. Phiale is a receptacle for pouring into, or one ad (in ?) quem bona tota ferantur); Trypheri (dainty; 11. 137).

23) See N. Rudd, The Satires of Horace (Cambridge, 1966), 140 ff.

24) See too Juv. 9. 102 O Corydon, Corydon (cf. V. Ecl. 2. 69). Names of this kind in Martial are, e.g.:- perhaps 1. 34 (note Catull. 58); 1. 50; 1. 71 (suggestive of the advice at Prop. 2. 4. 17 ff); cf. Europa at Anth. Pal. 5. 109.

25) Petr. 127. 6 - 7; for another example note Paridem at Juv. Sat. 6. 87: the previous lines belong to a tradition starting with Helen (cf. Marzullo, MCr 13 - 14 (1978 - 1979) 111) and Paridemque reliquit may be a touch of literary irony. Note incidentally Cic. pro Caecina 10. 27 and Quint. 6. 3. 56.

26) E.g. /.....

26) E.g. Marius 1. 49; Maecenas 1. 66; Lucusta 1. 70; Corvinus 1. 108; Pallas and Licinus 1. 109. Such names may be drawn from Martial, Tacitus and others, but in the end their significance derives from who they were. See Barr, LCM 6. 3 (1981) 85 on Tuccia at Juv. Sat. 6. 65 and Y. Nadeau's addition at LCM 7. 5 (1982) 68.

27) See Hor. Sat. 2. 1; 2. 3; 2. 4.

28) On the kinds of figure used by Horace see J. Classen, CQ 28 (1978) 335; on Catius, pp. 333 ff. Cic. ad Famm.7 contains seventeen letters to Trebatius; if alive he would by the time of Hor. Sat. 2. 1, be about 70; see Palmer at Sat. 2. 1. 4. Damasippus at Cic. ad Att. 12. 29. 2; 33. 1; ad Famm. 7. 23. 3; see Rudd, The Satires of Horace (Cambridge, 1966), 136 - 137 and n. 10; Catius at Cic. ad Famm. 15. 16. 1.

29) See Cameron, CR 17 (1967) 258 - 261; JRS 56 (1966) 28 - 29; note also: Q. Salvidienus Rufus died some ten years before Nasidienus appears in Hor. Sat. 2. 8 - they may be the same man: see Rudd, op. cit.(n.23), pp. 147 - 148.

30) See Cic. ad Famm. 9. 8 on this point and in general cf. Cic. ad Att. 13. 19. 3, sic enim constitueram, neminem includere in dialogos eorum qui viverent; Cic. ad Att. 12. 12. 2. Note ad Att. 13. 14, 15. 1 and 13. 16. 1 on

choice /....

choice and substitution of characters. In general see 13. 19. 2 ff.

31) Crispinus in Juv. Sat. 4 is a clear example.

32) On 'history' in Greek declamation see D.A. Russell, Greek declamation (Cambridge, 1983), 117 - 128.

32b) In this section I have retained in the text all references to primary sources for the characters in question and also those to I. Kajanto, The Latin Cognomina (Helsinki, 1964) which is cited hereafter by author's name and page number. Lafleur's Prosopographical commentary is referred to by name and citation of the locus in Juvenal.

33) Cf. W.S. Anderson, CPh 57 (1962) 153, 158 n. 17 (= Essays, 285, 290 f n. 17); E.J. Kenney, PCPhS 8 (1962) 31 - 32; R.S. Kilpatrick, YCS 23 (1973) 229, 235 ff; D.S. Wiesen, Hermes 101 (1973) 468 ff.

34) The Schol.give the name Nero, which Ruperti thought (possibly rightly) meant Domitian (n. at Sat. 7. 1). Schol. Z suggests Nero and Domitian as alternative possibilities. Ruperti reports supporters of Nero, Domitian, Titus, Nerva, Hadrian and Trajan and favours

the /....

the last two. More recently W.C. Helmbold and E.N. O'Neil, CPh 54 (1959) 100 ff and G.B. Townend, JRS 63 (1973) 150 support Domitian in a minority view.

35) Helmbold & O'Neil, op. cit. (n. 34 above), 100.

36) Helmbold & O'Niel, op cit, 100 - 102; on the Domitianic provenance of many of the exempla see also G.B. Townend, JRS 63 (1973) 150.

37) W.S. Anderson, loc. cit. (n. 33 above); N. Rudd, Lines of Enquiry (Cambridge, 1976) 85 - 86.

38) See E.J. Kenney, PCPhS 8 (1962) 31.

39) G.B. Townend, JRS 63 (1973) 150: see Juv. Sat.7. 1 - 3 and Calp. Sic. 4. 30 - 31, 87 - 88; see also Juv. Sat. 7. 27 and Calp. Sic. 4. 23.

40) Locc. citt. (n. 37 above).

41) See Rudd, op. cit. (n. 37), 89.

42) Cf. Wiesen, Hermes 101 (1973) 468 - 472.

43) See Chapter 2, at note 9.

44) Townend /.....

44) Townend, JRS 63 (1973) 150.

45) R. Syme, AJPh 100 (1979) 250; cf. W. Barr, LCM 6. 3 (1981) 86.

46) See R. Syme, Tacitus (Oxford, 1958) 778 on her father.

47) See in addition Lafleur at Sat. 1. 133 (Calvina); Kajanto, p. 235.

48) See Courtney's note at Sat. 3. 133; see Tac. Ann. 12. 4, 8; Sen. Apoc. 8. 2; Suet, Vesp. 23. 4.

49) Courtney, p. 17.

50) The detail of a year of birth (attributed to Calvinus at Sat.13. 17) proves nothing. It conveys no precision to us (see Astbury, AJPh 98 (1977) 392 - 395) and may not have done so in Juvenal's day (cf. Syme, op. cit. (n.46 above), 775): it may well have been a vague touch to give verisimilitude and to leave open the possibility of Calvinus' being considerably older than 60. Deductions about Juvenal's biography from the consular datings at Sat. 13. 16 f and Sat. 15. 27 are hazardous in the extreme (cf. Astbury, op. cit., 392 n. 3).

51) See /.....

51) See Fordyce's introductory note to Catull. 11.

52) See G. Williams, Tradition & Originality in Roman Poetry (Oxford, 1968) 17.

53) Schol. at Sat. 13. 33; Lubinus writes acriter objurgat simul jam et vexat Calvinum, ... irrisorie ... .

54) See on Trebius and Ursidius below.

55) Mart. 2. 23; 7. 12. 3; 10. 33. 9 - 10 and esp. 9. 95 b on real and false names; Juv. Sat. 1. 170 - 171.

56) See n. 4 above.

57) In cases such as those of Persicus and Corvinus (s.vv.) where the name draws its significance from a historical figure, one can argue that the name holder has become a type and therefore such 'biographical' incidents need have no basis in real biography.

58) Ferguson (n. at Sat. 12. 29 and on p. 294) tentatively makes this identification.

59) Wiseman, JRS 69 (1979) 168; 'a remarkable record'.

60) See Wiseman, loc. cit. (n. 59 above).

61) See /....

61) See below; s.v. Corvinus.

62) Catullus Messallinus certainly may have had descendants (See Sherwin White on Pliny Ep. 4. 21. 3), though how many is not known.

63) Cf. nn. 27 - 32 above.

64) Of the same family as the poet (see Wiseman, loc. cit. (n. 59 above): the echo of Catull. 67. 25 at Juv. Sat. 4. 114 (describing Catullus Messallinus) may be significant.

65) See R.A. Lafleur, RPh 48 (1974) 71 - 74.

66) Note the coincidental play on Catus at Tac. Ann. 2. 27 cited at n. 3 above.

67) See Pryor, BICS 16 (1969) 170.

68) See Chapter 2 n. 19.

69) Cf. Ferguson, p. 294. The comparison with the beaver is not straightforward. The hunters are satisfied by what is valuable, but to the sea the value of Catullus' goods is immaterial: but this is what is stressed

(Sat. /....

(Sat. 12. 38 and the list which follows); it may be suggested, inter alia, that (unlike the beaver, which has an idea of value as a correlative of demand) Catullus has an absolute regard for wealth per se.

70) M. Morford, The poet Lucan (Oxford, 1967), 20 - 36; Austin at V. Aen. 1. 81 - 123; Tarrant at Sen. Ag. 466 ff.

71) Cf. Catull. 44; Hor. O. 2. 17; 3. 8 [Tib.] 3. 10; Prop. 2. 28; Ov. Am. 2. 13; Stat. Silv. 1. 4.

72) Cf. Sat. 12. 60, mox; see also Hor. O. 1. 1. 17; cf. Juv. Sat.14. 287 ff.

73) On the chronology of Juvenal and Tacitus see G.B. Townend, CQ 22 (1972) 383 - 384 and R. Syme, AJPh 100 (1979) 250 - 278.

74) See Courtney's note at Sat. 1. 107 - 109.

75) See Hor. Sat. 2. 5. 56; Petr. 116. 9 (with Burman); Courtney, p. 517. For a literal use see Juv. Sat. 8. 252; for other connotations see Mart. 14. 74 (cf. Pliny NH 10. 15); Juv. Sat.2. 63. At Hor. Epp. 1. 17. 50 corvus is used in a context of mercenary relationships, though not actually of captatio. The connection with captatio is observed by A.D. Pryor,

BICS 16 (1969) 170; Courtney, p. 517; Ferguson (p. 294) expresses vague suspicions.
It should be noted that the suggestion that Corvinus may be interested in wills balances the connection which is perhaps to be derived from Martial (12. 73) between Catullus and the writing of wills: s.v. Catullus (ii) above.

76) Cf. n. 4 above.

77) See Highet, p. 260; Griffith, G & R 16 (1969) 145 - 146; G.B. Townend, JRS 63 (1973) 157 - 158; P. White, AJPh 95 (1974) 377 - 382; B. Baldwin, ACl 22 (1979) 109 ff; Courtney at Juv. Sat.4. 32; A. Vassileiou, Latomus 43 (1984) 27 - 68.

78) Excessive difficulties have been seen in saepe vocandus; see Kilpatrick, YCS 23 (1973) 229 ff.

79) Ferguson in his note ad loc. rather favours this idea. The delay of the address in Sat. 11 to line 57 involves an analogous surprise.

80) See Baldwin, ACl 22 (1979) 110; Courtney, p. 207.

81) Cf. crispus at Petr. 97; crispulus at Mart. 5. 61. 1, 13.

82) See /....

82) See Baldwin, loc. cit. (n. 77 above).

83) Courtney, p. 17.

84) Cf. Hor. S. 2. 8. 14, fuscus Hydaspes; see R.J. Getty, CPh 47 (1952) 106.

85) On Stat. Silv. see n. 4 above.

86) Galle is read at Sat. 16. 1 in ϕ.

87) Of the poet at Prop. 2. 34. 91 (perhaps also at 1. 20; see J. Bramble in A.J. Woodman & D.A. West (edd.), Quality & pleasure in Latin poetry (Cambridge, 1974) 87).

88) Mart. 4. 16; cf. Catull. 78.

89) Perhaps Munatius is also at point in the mischievous (?) 10. 56 & 82; Little can be made of the Gallus in 7. 55; in 8. 73 Gallus is the poet.

90) Cf. Juv. Sat. 8. 116.

91) Perhaps a strange combination; see Courtney at Sat. 2. 50.

92) Neither character appears to be equestrian (Mart. 3. 95. 9 - 10 cf. Juv. Sat. 9. 140 - 141 with Courtney ad loc.), but /.....

but the indications of wealth (Mart. 3. 95. 11- 12; Juv. Sat. 9. 63 ff) and the use of the ius trium liberorum motif (Mart. 3. 95. 5 - 6; Juv. Sat. 9. 90) are not helpful.

93) Perhaps Mart. 12. 73 adds something to Catullus in Sat. 12, and perhaps the use of Postumus in Sat. 6 alludes to the Postumus in Prop. 3. 12. It should be noted that such literary derivation is not as clear or common, for the protagonists, as historical.

94) Cf. Sergiolus at Juv. Sat. 6. 105,where see Duff.

95) See Courtney's notes at Sat. 9. 1 - 2.

96) Cf. Smith's note at Petr. 78.

97) Lafleur at Sat. 2. 58.

98) Courtney's note at Sat. 2. 58; but only tentatively at Sat. 12. 111.

99) Barr, LCM 6. 3 (1981) 84, reviewing Courtney's edition, tentatively favours Housman.

100) Cf. Juv. Sat. 1. 99 ff.

101) Sen. /.....

101) Sen. de ben. 4. 30. 2: osculum (= Persici) etiam impudici devitabant; cf. de ben. 2. 21. 5 - 6.

102) See PIR² F 51, citing Aelian. fr. 111 Hercher (vol. 2 p. 241); cf. RE Fabius 120 col. 1834.

103) Cf. Courtney's nn. at Sat. 14. 328 (persica regna) and Sat.8. 13, where he notes the Senecan passage quoted in n. 61 above ('Q.Fabius Persicus' is an error for Paullus Fabius Persicus).

104) Similarly Ursidius is very rare indeed and is so separated from Postume in Sat. 6. 21 - 42 that the question of whether one or two characters are meant has arisen. J. Adamietz, Untersuchungen zu Juvenal (Wiesbaden, 1972) 64 - 65 argues that Persicus and Asturicus are distinct, by analogy with Ventidius (22) and Atticus (1) in Sat. 11.

105) Cf. Sat. 14. 328 with Courtney's note, adding Plaut. Sti. 24 - 25; Varro Men. 36 B (with Lèbe's note).

106) Cf. Nisbet & Hubbard on Hor. O. 1. 20 (p. 245).

107) Courtney pp. 17, 491. 492.

108) R. Syme, History in Ovid (Oxford, 1978), 98 n. 2.

109) Courtney /....

109) Courtney (pp. 17 and 382) describes the passage as a digression.

110) Cf. Pers. 5. 134; Courtney at Juv. Sat. 4. 43 for trade. For outlandish distances see Ov. Ex Pont.; Sen. Helv. 7. 1; Juv. Sat. 14. 114; for foreign royalties note Juv. Sat. 6. 661.

111) R. Syme, Tacitus (Oxford, 1958) 778. The name was not borne by Lucius Licinius Lucullus who conquered and triumphed over Pontus; cf. Tac. Ann. 13. 34 and Highet, 272 n. 2.

112) See M.L. Gordon, JRS 14 (1924) 98 with n. 3.

113) Courtney, p. 17; cf. also 382.

114) See Courtney, p. 491.

115) Virtus (Juv. Sat. 8. 20) has a public emphasis in Cic. ad Q.f. 1. 1. 9, 10, 31, 33, 36; cf. D.C. Earl, The political thought of Sallust (Cambridge, 1961), Chapters 2 and 3.

116) incert. auct. de viris illustribus urbis Romae 68. 4; 75. 8; Flor. Epit. 2. 6. 6; 2. 9. 22 - 23.

117) Ferguson in his note on Juv. Sat. 7. 25 records him

without /....

without comment. No positive identification of the Caesar in Sat. 7. 1 is possible (see W. Barr, LCM 6. 3 (1981) 85 - 86 and R. Syme, AJPh 100 (1979) 250, but Juvenal's timeless use of historical figures (Syme, loc. cit.) would in any case allow Telesinus to have a Domitianic reference.

118) What suggests that Martial may have had Luccius in mind is the rareness of the name Telesinus, and the element of exile in both Mart. 12. 25. 6 and in the life of Luccius. The mention of Carus in Mart. 12. 25 puts the exile in a compatible Domitianic setting.

119) See J.M. Giegengack, Significant names in Martial (Diss. Yale, 1969), 60.

120) Not but that Cluvienus may be less obscure than he has seemed; attempts have been made to identify him as Helvidius Priscus: see L.A. Mackay, CPh 53 (1958) 236 ff; L. Hermann, Latomus 25 (1966) 258 - 264; B. Baldwin, CW 66 (1972 - 1973) 103 - 104; R.A. Lafleur, RPh 50 (1976) 77 - 84.

121) For poems thrown to the fire see: A.S. Hollis, Ovid, Metamorphoses Book VIII (Oxford, 1970), x, for Plato; Catull. 35; Suet. Vit. Verg. 39; Hor. O. 1. 16. 2 - 3;

Tib /....

Tib. 1. 9. 49; Prop. 4. 7. 77 - 78; Ov. Tr. 1. 7. 15 ff; 4. 10. 61 - 62; Sen. de Ira 3. 23. 4 ff.

122) See G.B. Townend, JRS 63 (1973) 150; N. Rudd expresses doubt (Lines of enquiry (Cambridge, 1976) 86), but if Calpurnius is not precisely recognisable Juvenal is aiming at poetic conventions and this makes the same point as regards Telesinus. (On the date of Calpurnius, see G.B. Townend, JRS 70 (1980) 166 ff).

123) See on this man, and on the name in general, R. Syme, HSCPh 73 (1969) 220.

124) Syme, loc. cit. (n. 123 above.) Trebius is also found as a cognomen, but to no avail here.

125) See R. Syme, AJPh 100 (1979) 250 - 278.

126) Cf. the not dissimilar point at Sat. 1. 101 ff.

127) Highet, p. 262 n. 2.

128) Juvenal: the sixteen satires (Harmondsworth, 1967), 124 n. 1.

129) R.A. Lafleur, ZAnt 26 (1976) 385. n. 5.

130) Ov. /.....

130) Ov. M. 12. 263, mater erat Mycale; the name is used elsewhere in Roman verse at Ov. M. 2. 223 (promontory) and Sen. HO 525 (a witch).

131) See Smith's commentary ad loc; H.D. Rankin, Latomus 28 (1969) 110 n. 4 (= Petronius the Artist (The Hague, 1971) 42 n. 49) suggests that Trimalchio was either trying to fool his audience or deceiving himself with the aristocratic sound of the name.

132) Juvenal: the Sixteen Satires (Harmondsworth, 1967), 99 n. 3, "possible, though unlikely".

133) R.A. Lafleur, op.cit. (n. 129 above), 387.

134) On Umbricius in general (the name, the character and his place in Sat.3) see R.A. Lafleur, ZAnt 26 (1976) 383 ff. Haruspicy proper (Etruscan) did not involve frogs (an oriental type of divination).

135) Motto & Clark, TAPA 96 (1965) 267 - 276.

136) See Lafleur, op. cit. (n. 129 above), 390 n. 27; Rudd and Courtney, n. at Sat. 3. 21 - 22.

137) Lafleur, op. cit. (n. 129), 390; see also B. Baldwin,

CW 66 (1972 - 1973) 101; Rudd and Courtney, loc. cit.

138) Lafleur, op. cit. (n. 129), 390 n. 28. He compares Hor. S. 2. 8. 22; Epp. 1. 5. 28. Atrius Umber is an ominous name at Livy 28. 28. 4, but this is remote.

139) See R.A. Lafleur, ICS 4 (1979) 158 - 177.

140) Umbra: Sen. Contr. 3 praef. 13; Quint. 10. 5. 17 (with Peterson's note); Juv. Sat. 7. 105, 173 (with Mayor); Tac. Ann. 14. 53. Umbraculum: Cic. Brut. 37; Leg. 3. 6. 14. Umbratilis: Cic de or. 1. 157; Or. 64. Umbraticus: Petr, 2. 4; Plin. Ep. 9. 2. 3; Quint. 1. 2. 18. Umbrosus: Sen. Contr. 9 praef. 5.

141) See R.G. Austin at Quint. 10. 10. 15. It is perhaps worth noting that Umbricius leaves Rome when the sun is going down (Sat. 3. 316; cf. Lafleur, ZAnt 26 (1976) 415 n. 102). The connection with tenebrae (Sat. 3. 225) is very tenuous.

142) Amici at Sat. 3. 1 and laudo in the following line are ironic: on amicus see Lafleur, locc. citt. Chapter 2 n. 19; on laudo cf. Sat. 4. 18; 12. 121.

143) Umbra (= 'Umbrian woman' and also 'shade') is played on at Plaut. Most. 769 - 770.

144) R.A. Lafleur /....

144) R.A. Lafleur, op. cit. (n. 129), 388.

145) For details see Lafleur, op. cit. (n. above), 386 and nn. 8 - 10.

146) Highet, p. 253 n. 6; B. Baldwin, CW 66 (1972 - 1973) 101; R.A.Lafleur, op. cit. (n. 129 above), 388.

147) Courtney, p. 154.

148) Highet, p. 253 n. 7; Green, Juvenal: The Sixteen Satires (Harmondsworth, 1967), 99 n. 3; Rudd and Courtney, n. at Sat. 3. 21 - 22.

149) B. Baldwin, CW 66 (1972 - 1973) 101.

150) Courtney, p. 151; see also J. Adamietz, Untersuchungen zu Juvenal (Wiesbaden, 1972) 10.

151) R.A. Lafleur, op. cit. (n. 129) above.

152) Knoche & Clausen in their indices nominum; Smith, CW 73 (1980) 325; Courtney's n. at Sat. 6. 38; RE Postumus no. 7.

153) Duff's n. at Sat. 6. 28; Green in his translation;

Lafleur, /.....

Lafleur, op cit. n. (129), 427 n. 142; Ferguson's n. at Sat. 6. 21.

154) See n. 73 above.

155) See N. - H. on Hor. O. 2. 14.

156) There may be some connection between Hor. O. 2. 14 and Mart. 5. 58; the subject matter is related and Martial's addressee is a Postumus; but this may be merely a significant name: hodie iam vivere, Postume, serum est, Mart. 5. 58. 7. Mart. 1. 15 has the same material as this epigram, but a different addressee, Julius (Martialis); see Howell ad loc.

157) N. - H. n. at Hor. O. 2. 14. 22.

158) N. - H. ii, p. 223.

159) Propertian echoes are noticeable in this part of the satire: Sat. 6. 7 Cynthia; Sat. 6. 15 cf. Prop. 2. 32. 52; Sat. 6. 21 cf. Prop. 2. 32. 55; Sat.6. 33 - 37 cf. Prop. 2. 4. 17 ff.

160) See n. 156 above.

161) See Nisbet, JRS 68 (1978) 8, noting Hor. Epod. 16. 51, circumgemit ursus.

162) See /.....

162) See R. Syme, The Roman Revolution (Oxford, 1939), 434, 498.

163) Sat. 6. 25 - 28 could be just a vivid expression of surprise at the addressee's general intention, exaggerating his nearness to calamity; cf. fortasse (27) and note esp. Sat. 6. 60 ff. Hiberina (Sat. 6. 53) could be an exemplum, or connected with Ursidius or (with Ursidius as an exemplum) with Postumus.

164) For third person reference to the addressee at Sat. 6. 38 ff (if Ursidius Postumus is one man) cf. Chapter 2 n. 3 above.

165) Note, however, Smith on Pacuvius in Sen. Ep. 12. 8, n. at Petr. 78.

166) See n. 164 above.

167) See R. Syme, JRS 39 (1949) 17.

168) Highet, p. 262 n. 2; Green, p. 124 n. 3; Ferguson, note ad loc.

169) See n. 73 above for chronology. Köstermann, Fuchs and Goodyear read Virronem, Lenchantin retains Varronem.

170) Lafleur /....

170) Lafleur, op. cit. (n. 129) 384 - 385 n. 5.

171) The address to Naevolus' patron at Sat. 9. 54 as passer is not relevant; cf. H.D. Jocelyn, AJPh 101 (1980) 423 - 427.

172) R. Syme, loc. cit. (n. 167 above).

173) Syme, loc. cit. (n. 167 above).

174) Courtney, p. 424.

175) The statistics for names per line in the satires are:-

Sat.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
	.38	.52	.35	.40	.38	.32	.41	.55	.23	.38	.29	.35	.27	.24	.32	.18

Sat. 9 includes the lowest proportion of names of all the Satires, only approached by Sat. 13, 14, both produced two books later (I do not count the incomplete Sat. 16). The proportion of personal (as against mythological &c.) names is not significantly different in Sat. 9, 13 & 14.

176) See qualem (3), non miserabilior (6), notior (25) quantum (117).

177) Juvenal's /.....

177) Juvenal's Volusius Bithynicus is listed in Swanson (op. cit. n. 1 above) only under Volusius; Volteius Mena (Hor. Epp. 1. 7. 55), for example, is listed under both names. I have not noted other omissions.

178) See Courtney at Sat. 10. 1 and add Stat. Silv. 3. 1. 182 solisque cubilia Gades and Mayor at Sat. 10. 1. There is an additional suggestion beyond sheer distance: that of the whole course of the sun over the world.

179) See R. Syme, Roman Revolution (Oxford, 1939) 424; Tacitus (Oxford, 1958) 302 - 303; Some Arval Brethren (Oxford, 1980) 4 - 5, 77; CQ 30 (1980) 427 - 428; Tac. Ann. 3. 30. 1; 13. 30. 2; 14. 56. 1; Pliny NH 7. 62; Colum. 1. 7. 5. See also J. Reynolds, JRS 61 (1971) 142 - 143.

180) See Syme, Some Arval Brethern (Oxford, 1980) 77. RE 12 provides a Q. Volusius Flaccus Cornelianus, cos. ord. AD 174; see also RE 22.

181) As also Tacitus and Pliny: see Syme, Tacitus (Oxford, 1958) 112 n. 4.

182) See Smith, cited at n. 165 above.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1) See W.S. Anderson, YCS 15 (1957) 55 - 68 = Essays, 219 - 232.

2) Duff, p. xxxvii.

3) See H.A. Mason in J.P. Sullivan (ed.), Critical Essays, 135; Mason suspects that 'Umbricius is not Martial, but Juvenal himself recalling in verse the recitations he had so often delivered in prose and laughing ... The poem in that case would be a genuine and witty drama and a piece of literary not social criticism.' See Papirius Fabianus (Sen. Contr. 2. 1. 10 ff) and compare Juv. Sat. 3. 190 ff. J. Adamietz, Untersuchungen zu Juvenal (Wiesbaden, 1972) 9 - 10 comments on the rhetorical background, citing (p. 9 n. 6) Quint. 2. 4. 24, 'rusticane vita an urbana potior', but without emphasis; see also p. 27.

4) Mason, Critical Essays, 123, 135 etc. There are some lapses, however; see G.B. Townend, JRS 63 (1973) 149 n. 9.

5) R.A. Lafleur, ZAnt 26 (1976) 383 - 431; Adamietz is not clear on this question: he is aware of the rhetorical background of Umbricius' speech (cf. prosopopoeia and holds that Umbricius may or may not have been a friend

of /.....

of the poet: Untersuchungen zu Juvenal (Wiesbaden, 1972) 10; W. Taegert, Hermes 106 (1978) has some remarks, not fully worked out, on this matter.

6) It is worth remembering Quintilian: quis inter haec litteris aut ulli bonae arti locus, 12. 1. 7.

7) R.A. Lafleur, op cit. (n. 5 above), 393 - 396. J. Adamietz, Untersuchungen zu Juvenal (Wiesbaden, 1972) 13 ff concentrates on Hor. Sat. 2. 6.

8) See N. Rudd, The Satires of Horace (Cambridge, 1966) 160 - 223. Cf. Lafleur, op. cit. (n. 5) 394, drawing attention to the analogous treatment of Laronia at Juv. Sat. 2. 37 - 63.

9) J. Holloway, Arion 4 (1965) 233 - 236.

10) Courtney p. 153.

11) See n. 5 above: I had reached the basic form of this Chapter before I had access to Lafleur's article.

12) See n. 6 above; cf. also Cic. ad Famm. 5. 16. 4, quid est enim iam ... bonis artibus ... loci?

13) See /.....

13) See Courtney at Juv. Sat. 3. 24 - 25 and 9. 1; cf. Sen. Contr. 1. 2. 20. Cf. also Juv. Sat. 5. 1 f and J. Adamietz, Untersuchungen zu Juvenal (Wiesbaden, 1972) 96.

14) It is, however, the kind of character trait a Roman would have been able to find comic: Plaut. Mil.; Hor. Sat. 2. 4; Persius 1. 132 - 133 (cf. Hor. Sat. 1. 3. 133 - 134). The following passage is also worth noting:-

830 Limen superum<que> inferumque, salue, simul autem uale:
hunc hodie postremum extollo mea domo patria pedem.
usus, fructus, uictus, cultus iam mihi harunc aedium
interemptust, interfectust, alienatust. occidi!
di penates meum parentum, familiai Lar pater,
835 uobis mando meum parentum rem bene ut tutemini.
ego mihi alios deos penatis persequar, alium Larem,
aliam urbem, aliam ciuitatem: ab Atticis abhorreo;
nám ubi mores deteriores increbrescunt in dies,
ubi qui amici qui infideles sint nequeas pernoscere
840 ubique id eripiatur, animo tuo quod placeat maxume,
ibi quidem si regnum detur, non cupitast ciuitas.
(Plaut. Merc. 830 - 841)

Charinus, thwarted (he thinks) in love, bids farewell to his city and (837 ff) criticises its mores; he forgets his decision and criticisms when circumstances turn out favourably for him. The text is Enk's.

15) Persius /....

15) Persius has per me equidem sint omnia protinus alba (1. 110) as a patently insincere tag; cf. also Ov. M. 11. 314; clearly related are expressions involving night and day such as Petr. 37. 5 (See Smith ad. loc., citing Otto s.v. sol (4)).

16) On the terms used, see Courtney.

17) Highet, p. 70.

18) See Courtney p. 152; cf. p. 154, citing Dio Chrys. 7. 104 ff as an indication that οἱ κομψοὶ πένητες ought to find an occupation.

19) See Lucr. 3. 1053 ff; Hor. Epp. 1. 11; Sen. Ep. 28.

20) See J. d'Arms, Romans on the Bay of Naples (Cambridge Mass., 1970) 158; cf. Vitellius at Tac. Hist. 3. 63, 66; Cic. ad Famm. 7. 1. 4 - 5: neque enim fructum ullum laboris exspecto ... istam rationem tui et laudo vehementer et probo (cf. Juv. Sat. 3. 22, 2)

21) Courtney, p. 152.

22) Cf. Pliny Ep. 2. 20. 12 cited above.

23) Mart. /.....

23) Mart. 4. 5 gives a similar list, leading to a joke.

24) Cf. Lucil. 1145 - 51 W; Hor. Sat. 2. 6. 23 ff; Epp. 2. 2. 65 ff.

25) E.g. Sen. Contr. 2. 4. 5; 2. 4. 13 (note CLE 66); 7. 6. 1 ff; Calp. Flacc. 30.

26) Sen. Contr. 3. 9; Sen. Ep. 44; Juv. Sat. 8. See Summers' notes on Sen. Ep. 44; the revaluation of ἀγαθός so as to involve ἔργον as well as lineage in Hes. Op. is an important text (which Virgil had some use for); see A.W.H. Adkins, Moral Values and political behaviour in Ancient Greece (London, 1972) 22 - 35.

27) Especially to be noted are: Sat. 3. 58 ff on Greeks; 153 ff on being ousted from theatre seats; 184 ff on lack of social recognition; 239 ff on unfair disadvantage; 292 ff on being insulted and beaten by a thug; see below on Juv. Sat. 3. 131 ff.

28) The responsibility for outrageous social mobility is attributed to Fortune's sense of humour (cf. Sat. 6. 603 ff; Sen. Contr. 5. 1 &c; a commonplace); not /.....

not a profoundly revealing explanation. But in this passage one should also notice the bitter and apparently creditable point made in *verso pollice vulgus / cum iubet, occidunt populariter* (*Sat.* 3. 36 - 37).

29) For the other side see Naevolus' fears at *Sat.* 9. 96 - 100 and the interlocutor's argument at *Sat.* 1. 165 - 170.

30) Cf. A.J. Woodman on Vell. Pat. 2. 88. 2 for discussion and examples.

31) Cf. also Juv. *Sat.* 6. 296 ff, *hinc fluxit* (cf. *defluxit* at *Sat.* 3. 62) *ad istos / et Sybaris colles, hinc et Rhodos et Miletos / atque ... Tarentum*. Cf. also Hor. *O.* 3. 6. 19 ff (note *fluxit* at 20).

32) Plato regarded certain kinds of music as morally suspect: see e.g. *Lg.* 669 ff.

33) Courtney cites Scipio Aemilianus fr. 30 Malcovati; Livy 39. 6. 7; Quint. 1. 10. 31; add Hor. *Sat.* 1. 2. 1 ff and cf. Curtius 6. 2. 5; see also H.D. Jocelyn, *PCPhS* 26 (1980) 60 n. 250.

34) See /....

34) See H. Herter, JbAntChr 3 (1960) 71.

35) Cic. pro Cael. 42; cf. Plaut. Curc. 33 - 38; Hor. Sat. 1. 2. 31 ff; Sen. Contr. 2. 4. 10; 2. 6. 7; 2. 6. 11; Juv. Sat. 8. 163 ff; Suet. Nero 26; [Quint.] Decl. Min. 260. 2 with Winterbottom ad loc.

36) Plaut. Merc. 817 - 829, the wives' point of view; cf. Hor. O. 2. 8. 22 - 24; Plaut. Truc. esp. 35 ff, the mercenary quality of the meretrix; cf. Juv. Sat. 10. 238 - 239. The terms and trappings may be used for abuse: Anacr. 346. 13 P; Catull. 42; 58; Sen Contr. 2. 7. 3f.

37) Cf. the imaginary severus at Cic.pro Cael. 48; Sen. Contr. 2. 4. 6, mulier (= meretrix), quae sine praefatione honeste nominari non potes. See also the passages cited at n. 33 above; less general, but condemnatory are:- Sen. Contr. 1. 2 (sacerdos prostituta); Tac. Ann. 15. 37. The pejorative use as a literary critical metaphor, e.g. Quint. 1. 2. 8; Juv. Sat. 7. 87 (see F. Jones, CQ 32 (1982) 478 - 479), is to be noted. On the various terms used for prostitutes, and their various levels of abusiveness see J.N. Adams, RhM 126 (1983) 321 ff. Musonius Rufus notably held firm views on such matters;

see /....

see de S^te^ Croix, The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World (London, 1981) 110; see esp. Musonius frr. 4 and 12, pp. 44 - 45 and 86 - 87, 88 - 89 in C.E. Lutz, YCS 10 (1947) 3 - 147; see also the passages listed by Tarrant at Sen. Ag. 262 ff.

38) Cf.Sall. Cat. 11; Livy 39. 6. 7; Juv. Sat. 6. 296 ff; 11. 100 ff.

39) On Lupa see J.N. Adams, RhM 126 (1983) 333 ff, on scortum see 321 ff, but see also N. - H. on Hor. O. 2. 11. 21 and cf. Catull. 10. 3; Umbricius' color is that his representative (tu) is an ordinary fellow who likes the look of a particular girl, whereas the rich man's slave pays for casual bouts with one or other Roman lady (the contrast in this elaborately balanced passage may suggest Umbricius' wants to buy Chione (for an extended liaison), which he could do for HS 600 (Mart. 6. 66; see Duncan-Jones, The economy of the Roman Empire (Cambridge, 1974) 349 - 350 for a list of slave-prices, showing that Martials's figure is plausible and not expensive.

40) As at Sat. 3. 92 - 93, haec eadem licet et nobis laudare, sed illis / creditur; see N. Rudd, Lines of Enquiry (Cambridge, 1976) 104 - 105. On Sat. 3. 126 - 130

see / .....

see J. Adamietz, Untersuchungen zu Juvenal (Wiesbaden, 1972) 20 - 21.

41) On da testem one should note tam facile et pronum est superos contemnere testes, / si mortalis idem nemo sciat (Juv. Sat. 13. 75 - 76); for the questions at Sat. 3. 141 - 142, observe Hor. Sat. 1. 6. 29 ff; for Sat. 3. 143 - 144, cf. Lucil. 1194 - 1195 W, cited by the Juvenalian schol.

42) See Sen. Contr. 2. 1. 17; Pliny NH 14. 5; also Hor. Epp. 1. 6. 36 ff (for Hor. Epp. 1. 6. 36 cf. also Juv. Sat. 3. 160 - 161); for further parallels see Mayor at Juv. Sat. 3. 143 and West at Hes. Op. 313.

43) The commentator's parallels indicate this clearly throughout. Here notice, e.g. Juv. Sat. 3. 100 ff cf. Hor. Epp. 1. 18. 89 - 95; Ov. AA 2. 199 ff; cf. also Cic. de Amic. 93; Plut. Mor. 51 bc; and Juv. Sat.3. 243 ff cf. Hor. Epp. 2. 2. 72 ff.

44) Contrast Sat. 6. 286 et seqq.. Both sides of the case can be viewed in declamation; see esp. Sen. Contr. 2. 1 with Papirius Fabianus' denunciation of wealth 2. 1. 10 - 13, including a laudation of poverty 2. 1. 13; and the other side 2. 1. 17 - 18, especially Fuscus Arellius senior: Facilius possum paupertatem laudare

quam /.....

quam ferre (2. 1. 18). This aspect, less conducive, is played down, however in the colores (2. 1. 30 ff) On attitudes to property see in general G.E.M. de Sainte Croix, The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World (London, 1981), 425 ff.

45) clientis (125) and officium (126) act as link words.

46) See Courtney, n. ad loc.

47) A man may hold inconsistent - mutually exdusive - ideas, but something more than logical shortsightedness usually, enables him to do so. He must have a positive motive, or his viewpoint must be unbalanced because of some strong impulse (NB double standards as regards sex and the hereditary principle). See J. Adamietz, Untersuchungen zu Juvenal (Wiesbaden, 1972), 7, 9 on the central idea or single point of view.

48) As H.A. Mason suggested, op. cit. (n. 3 above), 104, 107, 123 etc.

49) See Juv. Sat. 3. 169 ff and, providing articulation for the section which follows that on the disadvantages of the Roman pauper (126 - 189), 190 ff and 223 ff.

50) See /....

50) See H.A. Mason, op. cit. (n. 3), 127 - 128. Umbricius' idealisation of the small farm life (Sat. 3. 226 f) is interesting: he seems to envisage working, but this kind of work, if performed by oneself, was illiberalis labor or sordidum opus; see G.E.M. de Ste Croix, The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World (London, 1981) 122 - 123. Of course Umbricius shows no sign of following up this line of thought, let alone putting it into practice. On the town and country contrast in general see Winterbottom's references at [Quint.] Decl. Min. 298.

51) See Juv. Sat. 3. 21 - 24; 126 - 189; 235; 282 - 288; Lafleur, ZAnt 26 (1976) 399; cf. J. Adamietz, Untersuchungen zu Juvenal (Wiesbaden, 1972), 8.

52) Persicus (Sat. 3. 221) for example; also the objects of the flattery in Sat. 3. 87 ff, 106 ff, not to mention Artorius and Catulus (Sat. 3. 29 - 30).

53) See R. Syme, Tacitus (Oxford, 1958) 467 n. 4.

54) R. Syme, Some Arval Brethren (Oxford, 1980) 90 - 91; see also G.E.M. de Ste Croix, The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World (London, 1981) 119, on Greeks and orientals.

55) The /.....

55) The night prowler who makes his appearance at Sat. 3. 278 can hardly be supposed other than Roman. And yet the picture is not held up for admiration. Such a character would be well known (and reminiscent of Nero : Suet. Nero 26) and unlauded by all sane men. His characterisation is a unity including an attitude to the Jews very like Umbricius' to the Greeks (and foreshadowed in Sat. 3. 13 ff). Overstatement is to be avoided; Umbricius, no doubt, would feel insulted at being taken for a Jew and that explains his using the detail. But dual values could have been sensed.

56) See J. Griffin, JRS 66 (1976) 87 - 105. Note Graias nostrasque Athenas at Juv. Sat. 15. 110.

57) See esp. Sen. Contr. 2. 6. 12 on Agroitas.

58) J. Adamietz, Untersuchungen zu Juvenal (Wiesbaden, 1972) 13 - 38 documents the literary quality of Umbricius' speech.

59) W.S. Anderson, CSCA 3 (1970) 1 - 34 = Essays, 362 - 395; see also 'Anger in Juvenal and Seneca' CPCPh 19 (1964) 127 - 196 = Essays, 293 - 361, esp. 293 - 314.

60) See S.C. Fredericks, Phoenix, 27 (1973) 62 - 67.

61) H.A. Mason /....

61) H.A. Mason, op. cit (n. 3 above), 127.

62) Cf. Eumolpus, especially in the sea storm in Petr. 115. There may be a contrast intended between summer in Rome (and the poets) and cool in Aquinum (and'the poet'); Sat. 3. 9, 318 f. Cf. Pearson and Strong; Hirst, AJPh 45 (1924) 280 - 281; Taegert, Hermes 106 (1978) 579.

63) Cf. J. Bramble, in E.J. Kenney and W.V. Clausen, Cambridge History of Classical literature II (Cambridge, 1982) 614.

64) The suggestions of S.C. Fredericks (Phoenix 27 (1973) 63 ff) on this seem far-fetched.

65) This was observed by H. Sydow in de Juvenalis arte compositionis (Halle, 1890) 14, cited by G. Highet, Juvenal the Satirist (Oxford, 1954) 254 n. 13.

66) Courtney's reason for not identifying the two characters, that the one in Sat. 1 is unsympathetic, the one in Sat. 3 not, is inadequate, since it assumes that Juvenal = Umbricius. We know Cordus in Sat. 1 is a poet, Cordus in Sat. 3 is at least given the familiar trappings of a poet: a box of poetry (cf. Catull. 68. 33 - 34; Hor. Sat. 2. 3.11 f; Epp. 2. 1. 112 f), a garret (cf. Juv. Sat. /.....

Sat. 7. 28) and paupertas (a topos, that poets are poor). And the name is the same (see Lafleur, ZAnt 26 (1976) 409 - 410 n. 89; the Cordus - epigrams in Martial (2. 57; 3. 15; 3. 83; 5. 23; 5. 26) are clearly irrelevant. See J.G. Griffiths CR 1 (1951) 138 f: B. Baldwin, CW 66 (1972 - 1973) 102 - 103.

67) It should be remarked that there is no evidence that Umbricius is a poet (as argued by Lafleur, ZAnt 26 (1976) 411 - 415) irrespective of the reading at Sat. 3. 322. Adiutor need suggest no more than a figure like Quintilius at Hor. AP. 438 ff. Auditor involves some humour, firstly because Umbricius has shown no sign of being so inclined for some three hundred lines, secondly because it assimilates Juvenal to the position of Cordus and the others depicted at the beginning of the first satire.

68) H.A. Mason, op. cit. (n. 4 above), 127 ff.

69) R.A. Lafleur, ZAnt 26 (1976) 406 n. 79.

70) Courtney's punctuation is used.

71) Contrast Umbricius' treatment of Daedalus at Sat. 3. 78 f. Daedalus, of course, is Greek, but in any case this is just another of Umbricius' inconsistencies: contrast

Sat. /.....

Sat. 3. 25. On the contrast of 'then' and 'now' cf. J. Bramble, cited at n. 90 below.

72) See above, n. 9 above.

73) See most recently 'Amicitia and the unity of Juvenal's first book' ICS 4 (1979) 158 - 177, with references to earlier and more specific accounts, esp. Lafleur, 'Umbricius and Juvenal Three' ZAnt 26 (1976) 383 - 431. Contrast J. Adamietz, Untersuchungen zu Juvenal(Wiesbaden, 1972) 38: 'Juvenal setzt ein mit dem Ausdruck des Schmerzes ... (trotz des Schmerzes laudo tamen)'.

74) See ZAnt 26 (1976) 397 - 399.

75) Lafleur, ibid., 399 n. 59.

76) Lafleur, ibid. 399 n. 60; elsewhere in Juvenal confundo is not used in the sense of 'upset': Sat. 6. 284; 7. 68. Confusus is not infrequently coupled with maestus, tristis etc., which indicates compatibility, but also a different meaning (see Petr. 91. 1 video Gitona ... tristem confusumque; cf. Livy 35. 15. 9 maerore recenti confuso (regi) cf. Livy 6. 34. 8). In general it suggests dismay, confusion or bewilderment (see V. Aen 12. 665; Livy 1. 7. 6; 6. 6. 7; Sen. Contr. 7. 1. 1;

Quint. /.....

Quint. 1. 1. 28), naturally, given the meaning of confundo (cf. Manil. 1. 223).

77) Including this passage: 1. 74, probitas laudatur et alget; 3. 2, in question; 3. 42, librum, / si malus est, nequeo laudare et poscere; 3. 86, adulandi gens prudentissima laudat / sermonem indocti, ...; 3. 92, haec eadem licet et nobis laudare, sed illis / creditur; 3. 106, laudare paratus, / si bene ructavit, ...; 4. 18 consilium laudo (captatoris); 4. 71, nihil est quod credere de se / non possit cum laudatur dis aequa potestus; 4. 121, sic pugnas laudabat (caecus Catullus); 5. 42, praeclara illi (= Virroni) laudatur iaspis; 6. 435, illa tamen gravior, quae cum discumbere coepit / laudat Vergilium, ...; 7. 31, didicit iam dives avarus / ... tantum laudare disertos, ...; 8. 58, nempe volucrem / sic laudamus equum; 10. 28, iamne igitur laudas quod de sapientibus alter ridebat ... flebat contrarius auctor? 11. 58, si laudem siliquas occultus ganeo, ...; 12. 121, laudo meum civem, nec comparo testamento / mille rates; 13. 32, Faesidium laudat vocalis agentem / sportula; 14. 154, 'tunicam mihi malo lupini / quam si me toto laudet vicinia pago / exigui ruris paucissima farra secantem', 14. 182, 'panem quaeramus aratro, qui satis est mensis; laudant hoc numina ruris, ...

78) See the passages cited by P. Howell in his notes on Mart. /.....

Mart. 1. 59. 1; 1. 62. 5.

79) Despite his use of Baiae in pro Caelio 35; see ad Att. 5. 2. 2, habuimus in Cumano quasi pusillam Romam; tanta erat in iis locis multitudo; see in general J. Griffin, JRS (1976) 92 + nn.

80) See R.A. Lafleur, ICS 4 (1979) 162 n. 9; J.R. Fears, Vergilius 21 (1975) 1 - 21.

81) See Stat. Silv. 3. 5 esp. 95 ff; 4. 7. 17 - 20; Mart. 3. 58; 10. 58; 11. 80; see also Hor. O.3. 4. 24.

82) Cited by Hirst AJPh 45 (1924) 281.

83) This should be borne in mind with regard to Juv. Sat. 3. 4, ianua Baiarum est.

84) Cf. Cic. Mur. 12, et si habet Asia suspicionem luxuriae quandam, non Asiam numquam vidisse sed in Asia continenter vixisse laudandum est.

85) See Cic. Resp. 2. 8; Sall. Cat. 11. 5; Sen. Ep. 51. 10. Tac. Hist.2. 87. 1; 3. 2. 2; the hippocratic On airs, waters and places (cf. Herodotus 9. 122. 3 - 4); cf. Curtius 5. 1. 36.

86) See /.....

86) See n. 80 above.

87) Juv. Sat. 3. 190 ff, 223 ff; cf. also 169 ff; see Lafleur, ZAnt. 26 (1976) 401 - 405. Praeneste (Sat. 3. 190) is gelida; cf. 'Juvenal's', but not Umbricius', Aquinum (gelidos ... agros; Sat. 3. 322); see differently W. Taegert, Hermes 106 (1978) 580.

88) See n. 20 above.

89) See R. Syme, Some Arval Brethren (Oxford, 1980) 44; the feature is of long standing: on the epicurean circle at the Bay of Naples in the first century B.C. centred on Siro and Philodemus, see C. Tuplin, Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar 1976 (Liverpool, 1977) 6 f; ~~and~~ this too has political significance and is not without connection with the literary arts (for Statius and the region see D. Vessey Statius and the Thebaid (Cambridge, 1973) 45 ff and for recitations see J. d'Arms, Romans on the Bay of Naples (Cambridge, Mass., 1970) 145 - 146; cf. Stat. Silv. 5. 3. 112 ff). It might be noted here that the dangers of Rome were not exclusive. Earthquakes were common in Campania: Pliny Ep. 6. 20. 3, cf. Sen. NQ 6. 1. 1 - 3; Tac. Ann. 15. 22; Tac. Ann. 15. 34. 1 - 2 (= Suet. Nero 20); a hurricane at Tac. Ann. 16. 13. 1; Vesuvius had erupted and is still threatening at Stat. Silv. 4. 4. 84 - 85. Riots and civil tension

are /....

are found at Tac. Hist. 3. 57; 4. 3; Ann. 13. 48; 14. 17.

90) J. Bramble, CHCL ii, p. 609, sums up Juvenal's character as a writer admirably on pp. 608 - 609; his comments on the third satire (pp. 619 - 620) do not differ in essence from the views expounded here, although the function of Umbricius is, it seems to me, underestimated.

NOTES /.....

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1) See H. Jordan, M. Catonis praeter librum de re rustica quae exstant (Leipzig, 1860) 97; Polyb. 31. 25. 5a; cf. Suet. Tib. 34; Pliny NH 9. 67 - 68 and Sen. Ep. 95. 42 quote prices (cf. Pliny NH 9. 170 - 172). See R. Duncan-Jones, The Economy of the Roman Empire (Cambridge, 1974) 249 - 250. See also Juv. Sat. 11. 35 ff for another possible allusion to Cato's dictum (Chapter 9, n. 21 below). There is an article on this Satire by C. Deroux in C. Deroux (ed.), Studies in Latin literature, iii (Brussels 1983) 283 - 298, to which I have not had access.

2) Courtney (p. 197) cites Plut. Quaest. Symp. 4. 4. 668a for fondness for fish as a topic of abuse; for food from the sea as a satirical topos, see also:- Lucil, 200 - 207 (W); Varro Men. 403 (B); Hor. Sat. 2. 2. 48 ff; 2. 3. 235; Sall. Cat. 13. 3 (vescendi causa ...); Sen. Ep.89. 22; NQ 3. 17. 2 et seqq.; Petr. 93. 2; Luc. 4. 375 f; 10. 155 f; Pliny NH 9. 67 - 68; 9. 104; Stat. Silv. 4. 6. 11; Tac. Hist. 2. 6. 21; Juv. Sat. 5. 93 ff; 11. 14; Dio 64. 3. 1. In general on food see N. Rudd, The Satires of Horace (Cambridge, 1966) 161 - 164.

3) See Varro RR 3. 3. 9 - 10; 3. 17. 2 - 9; Cic. ad Att. 1. 18. 6; /.....

1. 18. 6; 2. 9. 1; Pliny NH 9. 77 (see also Sen. de Ira 3. 40; de Clem. 1. 18. 2; Pliny NH 9. 77; Dio 54. 23 on Vedius Pollio); For later criticism see Sen. Ep. 90. 7; Tac. Ann. 13. 21. See de Ste Croix, The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World (London, 1981) 356.

4) See J. d' Arms, Romans on the Bay of Naples (Cambridge Mass., 1970) 102.

5) See Mart. 4. 30; Pliny NH 10. 193.

6) Note Juv. Sat. 4. 50 ff; cf. Pliny Pan. 50. 1, although this is a general comment, not specifying fishponds.

7) See F. Millar, JRS 53 (1963) 36 n. 107; Plut. de Curiositate 520 c mentions a market dealing in freaks at Rome.

8) For fish given to Emperors see Herodotus 3. 42; Sen. Ep. 95. 42; Mart. 13. 91; Suet. Tib. 60. For fish as gifts see Lucil. 159 - 161 (W); Juv. Sat. 5. 92 - 98; 6. 38 - 40.

9) See Ps. - Acro on Hor. Sat. 2. 2. 47; cf. J.G. Griffith, G & R 16 (1969) 136, citing S. Gsell, Essai sur le

règne /....

règne de l'empereur Domitien (Paris, 1894) 61 n. 6.

10) J.G. Griffith, loc. cit. (n. 9 above.

11) See Pliny NH 35. 163 - 164; Suet. Vit. 13. 2; Dio 64. 3. 3.

12) See Suet. Nero 41. 2; cf. Dio 63. 26. 4; G.B. Townend, JRS 63 (1973) 155 - 156; Courtney, p. 198 citing Dio 67. 9 (Domitian) and J. Crook, Consilium Principis (Cambridge, 1955) 29 citing also Dio 59. 5. 5 (Caligula); SHA, Heliog. 11. 2 - 5.

13) Lucil. 5 - 46 (W); Sen. Apoc. 8 - 11 with Eden ad loc.; see Courtney, pp. 197 - 198. Both involve senatorial forms. See also Tac. Ann. 12. 1 ff with R. Syme, Tacitus (Oxford, 1958), 539; Lucian Deorum concilium; Ap. Met. 6. 23.

14) See G. Williams, Change and decline (Berkeley, 1978) 159 - 169; Highet, p. 256 n. 1 citing secondary literature.

15) See D. Vessey, Statius and the Thebaid (Cambridge, 1973) 31 - 34; de Ste Croix, The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World (London, 1981), 632 n. 68; K. Scott, AJPh 54 (1933) 247 - 259.

16) Cf. /.....

16) Cf. the parrot which taught itself to say 'Caesar, ave'; Mart. 14. 73; cf. A.P. 9. 562 (= Gow-Page, GP, 1903 ff; note δαίμονι at 1908). Note, however, Varro RR 3. 17. 4; Mart. 10. 30. 22 - 23. Corsaro, Acta Philologica, Societas Academica Dacoromana 6 (1976) 157 - 162, argues that Juvenal is responding to Mart. 4. 30. 3 - 5 in this satire.

17) See Highet, p. 80 and 256 n. 1.

18) See Highet, pp. 79 and 258 n. 11.

19) R.S. Kilpatrick suggests that the invocation begins at Sat. 4. 28 with an indirect question dependent on incipe, Calliope (34); YCS 23 (1973) 232. But putamus (28) does not form a convincing part of such a construction.

20) Although the list of counsellors does not immediately follow, it is perhaps worth mentioning that one of the functions of epic invocations is to introduce catalogues: Hom. Iliad 2. 484 - 486; V. Aen. 7. 641 - 645; 10. 163 - 165; Sil. It. 3. 222 - 227; Val. Flacc. 6. 33 - 44.

21) As far as the reader is concerned Sat. 1 precedes Sat. 4, whatever the priority of composition: see Courtney, p.200.

W. Heilmann, /....

W. Heilmann, RhM 110 (1967) 359, sees here one of a number of links between Sat. 4 and other satires in the first book.

22) The fragment of Statius' de bello Germanico (see Courtney, p. 195 f) should be mentioned here: Juvenal insinuates a motive for its composition.

23) Cf. W.C. Helmbold and E.N. O'Neill, AJPh 77 (1956) 70 - 71; W.S. Anderson, YCS 15 (1957) 70; G.B. Townend, JRS 63 (1973) 156 - 158; contrast E.J. Kenney, PCPhS 8 (1962) 30. See also on the unity of the poem W. Heilmann, RhM 110 (1967) 358 ff; R.S. Kilpatrick, YCS 23 (1973) 229 ff; D. Sweet, CSCA 12 (1979) 283 - 303; Courtney, pp. 199 - 200.

24) See Stegmann, de Juvenalis dispositione (Weyda, 1913) 33; Highet, p. 257 n. 2.

25) A possibly significant omission has been made in this account: at Sat. 4. 43 torrentis suggests the current bringing Domitian's fish to light. (It is no more than a suggestion since it is couched in a negative comparison (Sat. 4. 41 ff; neque enim minor haeserat illis / quos operit glacies Maeotica ruptaque tandem / solibus effundit torrentis ad ostia Ponti).) At Sat. 4 89 f

Crispus /.....

Crispus numquam derexit bracchia contra / torrentem, nec ciuis erat qui libera posset / verba animi proferre et vitam impendere vero. A connection between Crispus' flattery in court and his presence at this council meeting seems to be emphasised.

26) G & R 16 (1969) 134 n. 1.

27) See W.S. Anderson, YCS 15 (1957) 68 - 80.

28) See W.S. Anderson, op cit. (n. 28 above), 78.

29) See Courtney at Sat. 4. 12.

30) Cf. Juv. Sat. 2. 30 - 31; Suet. Dom. 8.

31) See G.B. Townend, JRS 63 (1973) 156 - 157.

32) Courtney at Sat. 4. 9 - 10.

33) On Domitian's background presence see Highet, p. 82; J.G. Griffith, G & R 16 (1969) 149; D. Sweet, CSCA 12 (1979) 285; on the reflection of Domitian in the behaviour and attitudes of the courtiers see Highet, pp. 81 - 82; W.S. Anderson, YCS 15 (1957) 76, 77; cf. Heilmann, RhM 110 (1967) 361.

34) CSCA /.....

34) CSCA 12 (1979) 284 and n. 10.

35) See Chapter 6, section 3.

36) See Highet, pp. 259 - 261 giving the main details and citing earlier treatments; add J.G. Griffith, G & R 16 (1969) 139 - 146; Courtney's notes on Sat. 4; A. Vassileiou, Latomus 43 (1984) 27 - 68; On Crispinus see Chapter 3, s.v.; on Veiento, W.C. Mc Dermott, AJPh 91 (1970) 129 - 148; see also P. Gallivan, 'Who was Acilius?' Historia 27 (1978) 621 - 625, esp. 621 n. 2.

37) See Courtney, p. 195; J.G. Griffith, G & R 16 (1969) 138; Bücheler's idea (RhM 38 (1884) 283) that Fabius indicates Veiento's wisdom via Fabius Cunctator meets strong dissatisfaction from F.R.D. Goodyear, PACA 16 (1982) 55.

38) On the organisation of the list of courtiers in Juv. Sat.4 see Highet, p. 81, 261 n. 14; Heilmann, RhM 110 (1967) 363; J.G. Griffith, G & R 16 (1969) 147. None of these accounts is convincing.

39) Acilius ... cum iuvene, Sat. 4. 94 - 5; Pompeius ... et Fuscus, /.....

Fuscus, 110 - 112; cum mortifero prudens Veiento Catullo, 113, themselves closely linked to Pompeius and Fuscus by et. in 113.

40) For attonitae (Sat. 4. 77) cf. attonitos (Sat. 4. 146).

41) See F.R.D. Goodyear, PACA 16 (1982) 55, on Sat. 4. 78 - 81.

42) Cf. J.G. Griffith, G & R 16 (1969) 139, with details.

43) For mite ingenium. Cf. Livy 34. 5; Vell. Pat. 2. 117. 2; Tac. Hist. 2. 48; Ann. 6. 15. 1; Juv. Sat. 13. 184 - 185; perhaps meant here as a cliché. Crispus' mite ingenium has its unevenness; cf. Tac. Hist. 2. 10 on the prosecution of Annius Faustus: nec poena criminis sed ultor displicebat.

44) The thought is a recurrent one in Tacitus: consideration of Lepidus prompted him to ask an sit aliquid in nostris consiliis liceatque inter abruptam contumaciam et deforme obsequium pergere iter ambitione ac periculis vacuum (Tac. Ann. 4. 20) and numerous characters in Tacitus and other writers, not to mention Agricola himself, bear the idea home. See, for example, Tac. Agr. 17. 2, (Julius Frontinus) vir magnus quantum licebat, ...;

Tac. Ann. /.....

Tac. Ann. 2. 52, et decrevere patres triumphalia insignia, quod Camillo ob modestiam vitae impune fuit; 6. 10 (Lucius Piso) fato obiit, nullius servilis sententiae sponte auctor et quoties necessitas ingrueret sapienter moderans (cf. Vell. Pat. 2. 98. 2 - 3; Sen. Ep. 83. 14); 14. 47, ... mortem obiit Memmius Regulus, auctoritate constantia fama, in quantum praeumbrante imperatoris fastigio datur, ... vixit tamen ... quiete defensus ...; see also Pliny Ep. 1. 14. 5 with Sherwin - White ad loc.

45) See Woodman's full note on Vell. Pat. 2. 88. 2; Stat. Silv. 2. 3. 64 - 71 and P. White, HSCPh 79 (1975) 272 - 273; Tac. Agr. 6. 3; see also W. Liebeschütz, CQ 16 (1966) 126 - 139; Courtney at Juv. Sat. 4. 111 - 112; Sherwin-White on Pliny Ep. 1. 14. 5.

46) See Tac. Agr.6. 3 with Ogilvie-Richmond ad loc; Ann. 3. 30 (Sallustius Crispus); Hist. 1. 10 (Mucianus); 1. 48 (Titus Vinius); for the 'mixed' character see Woodman, loc. cit. (n. 45 above); J. Griffin, JRS 67 (1977) 21 - 22; both with further exx. and references to secondary literature.

47) See J. Griffin, loc. cit. (n. 46 above); Tac. Agr. 6. 3; Hist. 1. 2; 3. 58; Ann. 1. 13. 1.

48) See /.....

48) See Tac. Ann. 16. 18 on Petronius: dein revolutus ad vitia seu vitiorum imitatione ...; cf. Vell. Pat. on Sentius Saturninus, ita tamen ut eum splendidum aut hilarum potius quam luxuriosum aut desidem diceres (2. 105).

49) Achilles: cf. Hor. O. 1. 8. 13 - 16; Odysseus: see Hyg. Fab. 95.

50) See below Juv. Sat. 4. 102 - 103; cf Livy 1. 56. 7 f; Ov. Fasti 2. 717 f; for Claudius see Suet. Claud. 38.3.

51) Cf. Sen. Dial. 4. 33. 2; Tac. Ann. 6. 10. 3.

52) See Tac. Hist. 1. 49. 3; Suet. Claud. 38. 3; D.M. Last and R.M. Ogilvie, Latomus 17 (1958) 486; note also Sen. Contr. 2. 6. 4, nemo, puto, vitia quia odit imitatur and non simulas ista (= luxuriam) sed facis; 2. 6. 5, turpe est sic castigare vitia ut imiteris.

53) See W. Liebeschütz, CQ 16 (1966) 126 - 139; see esp. Tac. Agr.45. 1, mox nostrae duxere Helvidium in carcerem manus; nos Maurici Rusticique visus adfixit; nos innocenti sanguine Senecio perfudit.

54) See also W.C. Mc Dermott, AJPh 91 (1970) 129 - 148 on Veiento. Of course the facts are not necessarily of

direct /.....

direct relevance to Juvenal. On the 'climax of evil' cf. n. 38 above.

55) Montanus, as sixth of eleven, is numerically central, and Veiento and Catullus are the final pair (cf. Pliny Ep. 4. 22. 4 - 6) but such mechanical grounds are not effective here.

56) Cf. M.Coffey, Lustrum 8 (1963) 206 on the portrayal of the eleven. It might be noticed that Montanus and perhaps Rubrius (see G.B. Townend, JRS 63 (1973) 154) extend the picture back to Nero's time, and Veiento and Catullus (see Pliny Ep. 4. 22. 4 - 6) extend it forward to Nerva's.

57) Cf. R.S. Kilpatrick, YCS 23 (1973) 231.

58) Cf. Kilpatrick, loc. cit. (n. 57 above); Heilmann, RhM 110 (1967) 360, 364 - 365, on Crispinus' symptomatische Bedeutung.

59) Cf. the cloaks in Mart. 8. 48.

60) See B. Baldwin, ACl 22 (1979) 109 - 114.

61) See Sat. 4. 11 ff.

62) Sen. /.....

62) Sen. Ep. 95. 42; see Courtney, p. 198.

63) See Suet. Nero 28. 1; cf. G.B. Townend, JRS 63 (1973) 155. Townend notes that Domitian 'is glossed as Calvo ... Neroni'(38) and connects Crispinus' 'lengthy porticoes and spreading woodlands close to the Forum' with Nero's Domus Aurea.

64) E.J. Kenney, PCPhS 8 (1962) 31.

65) Cf. Pegasus, one of the attoniti at Sat. 4. 146, and prefect of a city described as attonita at Sat. 4. 77. Domitian's special dish, I mentioned (see in the main text at note 11 above), had a precedent in Vitellius: the imperial slave at Pliny NH 33. 145 should be mentioned here: see G.E.M. de Ste Croix, The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World (London, 1981) 143.

66) See n. 21 above.

67) Cf. R.S. Kilpatrick, op cit. (n. 23 above) 233.

68) Cf. D. Sweet, CSCA 12 (1979) 297; cf. W.S. Anderson, YCS 15 (1957) 79.

69) This /.....

69) This would support the criticism of *indignatio*: where it is most deserved it is least feasible.

70) Perhaps *tam* should be read here: see F. Jones, *AC1* 27 (1984) 139 - 140.

71) Perhaps cf. Juv. *Sat.* 5. 26 ff where Trebius, who cannot express his feelings against Virro (cf. *Sat.* 5. 125 ff), is promised an argument with the freedmen at the table. At *Sat.* 1. 140 ff the poor *amici* only express their *ira* (cf. 146) after the rich man's death: the normal outlet is impossible.

NOTES /.....

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

1) See R.A. Lafleur, ICS 4 (1979) 158 - 177; the fourth and fifth satires are especially closely related: see Lafleur, 171 - 174. See also J. Adamietz, Untersuchungen zu Juvenal (Wiesbaden, 1972) 115 on Juv. Sat. 1, 3, 5 and 9; Cloud and Braund, G & R 29 (1982) 77 ff; W. Heilmann, RhM 110 (1967) 366 ff on other connections in Book 1.

2) See Highet, p. 85; M. Morford, AJPh 98 (1977) 230 - 232, 237 - 238, 244; Lafleur, op cit. (n. 1 above), 177.

3) For Virro's place in Sat. 9 see Chapter 3, s.v. Virro (vi).

4) M. Morford, AJPh 98 (1977) 219 - 245; cf. W.S. Anderson, YCS 15 (1957) 80 - 86; R.A. Lafleur, ICS 4 (1979) 171 - 177.

5) See Lafleur, loc. cit. (n. 1 above).

6) See n. 2 above.

7) See Courtney ad loc.

8) See Ferguson ad loc.

9) Cf. Morford /.....

9) Cf. Morford, AJPh 98 (1977) 221.

10) Lafleur, ICS 4 (1979) 172 - 173.

11) Lafleur, op. cit. (n. 10 above), 173.

12) Cf. Lafleur, op.cit. (n. 10 above), 171.

13) See Lafleur, op.cit. (n. 10 above), 173 - 174; Morford, AJPh 98 (1977) 235.

14) Sat. 5. 24 - 25, medicine; 46 ff, cobbling; 88, lanterns; 89, trade; 105, cloaca; 153 ff, a performing monkey, afraid of the whip (cf. Sat. 5. 173 on Trebius himself). It might be noted that this final image and the corresponding final images for Virro's food (Phaeacians and Hesperides, Sat. 5. 151 - 152) are climactic. (The association of fish and torrente at Sat. 5. 105 may, perhaps have some connection with Sat. 4. 41 ff).

15) Morford, AJPh 98 (1977) 235.

16) Cf. Anderson, YCS 15 (1957) 85. See Sat. 5. 14, 130, 161 (rex); 49, 71, 81, 92, 147 (dominus).

17) Cf. Lafleur, ICS 4 (1979) 174.

18) Parallels /....

18) Parallels from Martial are prominent; see the material listed by Courtney (p. 231) and Ferguson (p. 184).

19) See esp. Pliny Ep. 2. 6; further parallels listed by Courtney (p. 231).

20) For Juvenal's treatment of the protagonists in general see Chapter 2. For a brief treatment of Domitian see D. Sweet cited at Chapter 5 n. 34.

21) See Courtney ad loc.

22) See Chapter 2, section 2. ... Trebi is unobjectionable: see (e.g.) Sat. 3. 114, 198; Sat. 6. 74, 396, 543.

23) Cf. frater at Sat. 5. 135, part of the speech Trebius would clearly like to be addressed to him.

24) Cf. Chapter 2 section 4 on Trebius and nominis invisi at Sat. 13. 248.

25) Cf. Hor. Sat. 1. 5. 51 - 53, paucis ... velim; V. Aen. 4. 337, pauca loquar.

26) Cf. Morford /....

26) Cf. Morford, AJPh 98 (1977) 241.

27) Cf. Sat.1.135 - 141; J. Adamietz, Untersuchungen zu Juvenal (Wiesbaden, 1972) 107 - 108 explains the apostrophe as an emotional outburst following a most manifestly objectionable affront.

28) See Courtney at Sat. 5. 30.

29) But note dominus et domini rex for Trebius at Sat. 5. 137.

30) Cf. W.S. Anderson, YCS 15 (1957) 82; Lafleur, ICS 4 (1979) 173; Lafleur points out the connection with Domitian here.

31) See n. 3 above.

32) Cf. Nisbet and Hubbard on O. 2. 5., p. 77.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7

1) Courtney, p. 382.

2) See Chapter 3, s.v. Ponticus (vi).

3) See G.E.M. de Ste Croix, The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World (London, 1981) 341 - 342 with references; E.S. Gruen, The Hellenistic world and the coming of Rome (Berkeley, 1984) 54 ff, 158 ff.

4) Juv. Sat. 8. 8 seems eminently Juvenalian, and the reasons given for deletion (see Courtney, pp. 384 - 386) are not wholly convincing. See now H.A. Freeman, RhM 127 (1984) 348 - 350.

5) See Courtney, p. 383; R. Syme, AJPh 103 (1982) 81, 'the poem, be it noted, is strongly Neronian in tone, in matter, in personal names.'

6) See R. Syme, Tacitus (Oxford, 1958) 574 ff, 611 - 612; note Tac. Hist. 2. 95. 3, magis alii homines quam alii mores.

7) Syme, op. cit. 578 ff.

8) See /.....

8) See Chapter 3, n. 73.

9) See Syme, op. cit., 577f.

10) R. Syme, AJPh 103 (1982) 85; on Juvenal's Rubellius see pp. 65 n. 16, 81 - 82, 84 - 85.

11) Syme, loc. cit. (n. 10), compares the account of Livia and Sejanus at Tac. Ann. 4. 3. 4.

12) Cf. Syme, Tacitus (Oxford, 1958) 534; Courtney at Juv. Sat. 8. 39.

13) Courtney, IV. 383.

14) F. Zucker, Philologus 84 (1928) 217 - 222.

15) Cf. Cic. ad Q. fr. 1. 1. 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 32 ff, for possible abuse of power. Ibid. 1. 1. 3, for increments. Ibid. 1. 1, 7, 8, 13, 24, 27; cf. Pliny Ep. 8. 24. 7 ff, for power as responsibility. Cic. 1. 1. 8 - 9 for temptations to be resisted. Ibid. 1. 1. 11 ff for the restraining of officers.

16) Cf. Isocr. ad Nic. 15 - 16.

17) See /.....

17) See Caes. B.G. 7. 77; Sall. B.J. 81 (cf. Hist. 4 fr. 69 M); Livy 10. 16. 4 f; 21. 19. 9 f; 26. 13. 4 f; Tac. Agr. 15, 30 - 33; Hist. 4. 14; 4. 68. 4; Ann. 1. 59; 14. 31 - 32; Dio 62. 3 - 5; see F.R.D. Goodyear, Tacitus Greece and Rome Surveys 4 (oxford, 1970) 8; de Ste Croix, The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World (London, 1981) 443 - 444; cf. also Min. Fel. Oct. 25 for a more seriously intended criticism.

18) Cf. Ogilvie-Richmond on Tac. Agr., p. 253.

19) The contrast between Greeks and others (Juv. Sat. 8. 112 - 120) is also found at Cic. ad Q. fr. 1. 1. 27 and implicit in Pliny. On wives see Courtney at Juv. Sat. 8. 128: nothing much can be made of Varro Men. 176 B in this context, although it does deal with a wife and the satire it is cited from, Flaxtabula or περὶ ἐπαρχιῶν concerned provinces. It may have been relevant in general to the list of passages at n. 20 above, but the six remaining fragments are not. Note also Sen. Contr. 9. 2. 2.

20) Cf. Chapter 2, n. 9 on Sat. 7.

21) Neither the provincial matter (see above) nor Ponticus'

wife /.....

wife argue historical individuality. The rapacious wife (Sat. 8. 128 ff) stems from contemporary life and literature (see n. 19 above), but she is part of Ponticus' 'biography' as a character in a poem: cf. Sat. 11. 186 - 189 for another elaborated bad wife.

22) Unless T. Sextius Lateranus, cos. AD 94, is meant: See Nisbet, JRS 52 (1962) 236: if T. Sextius is meant Sat. 8. 170 - 171 (praestare ... aetas) must be deleted. Although the consul of AD 94 is later than the consul designate of AD 65, the latter does not detract from the overall chronological recession of Sat. 8. 146 - 275.

23) The resemblance to a family tree seems intended; possibly also a reversed version of Anchises' prophetic parade of heroes in V. Aen. 6.

24) See Sen. Ep. 44, with Summers ad loc.; Courtney, pp. 381 - 382.

25) See too Juv. Sat. 10. 28 - 53 where Heraclitus and Democritus figure two ways of viewing the material used: Democritus' laughter is avowedly preferred (see line 31), but at the end of the section line 50 suggests that the Democritean attitude is as inadequate as the Heraclitan. Both, it seems, are facile.

26) See /.....

26) See Tac. Ann. 15. 67. 2; Suet. Nero 20 f; Dio 63. 22. 4. See J. Bramble in E.J. Kenney and W.V. Clausen (edd.), CHCL II (Cambridge, 1982) 614.

27) Courtney, pp. 383 - 384, cf. 29 - 30; contrast Highet, pp. 115 - 116; Ferguson, p. 247.

28) There is a declamatory topos that parricide should be the culmination of a series of crimes (see Winterbottom at [Quint.] Decl. Min. 377. 1) which Juvenal subverts here.

29) Cf. Courtney, p. 231; cf. Sen. Ep. 47; Petr. 70. 11 - 71. 3; note also communis mensa (Pliny Pan. 49) as the panegyric version of iniquas Caesaris mensas (Juv. Sat. 5. 3 - 4).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 8

1) Courtney, p. 427; Pryor, BICS 8 (1961) 85, writes of Juvenal's 'accurate psychological discernment'; but this may be a feature of either sympathy or antipathy (or disinterest). There is a Chapter on this Satire in Winkler's book cited at n. 1 of the Introduction.

2) H.A. Mason, in J.P. Sullivan (ed.), Critical Essays, 101.

3) Mason, op. cit., pp. 96 ff.

4) Heralded, for example, by Euripides, Menander and Theophrastus' Characters, and in some ways by archaic iambic; the 'periodisation' is not neat.

5) See, for example, Hor. O. 1. 25; Prop. 4. 5; 4. 8.

6) See R. Beck, Mus. Helv. 39 (1982) 206 ff.

7) See Highet, p. 274 for the cultus adulter in mime.

8) See Ferguson at Juv. Sat. 9. 46.

9) They /.....

9) They agree well enough with those of the cautioning interlocutor at Juv. Sat. 1. 165 ff.

10) Courtney, n. ad loc.

11) Courtney, p. 426.

12) Cf. the chewing of laurel to produce a poet at Juv. Sat. 7. 19.

13) A continuous marked escalation is found at Hor. Epp. 1. 6. 34 - 35; Pers. 6. 78 - 80; Juv. Sat. 14. 322 - 331. The last cited passage uses HS 400,000 as the starting point and the unit of progression. This amount marked a boundary: gifts to bring men up to equestrian census are attested (see Courtney at Sat. 5. 132 citing Pliny Ep. 1. 19. 2; Mart. 4. 67; 5. 25; CIL 14. 2298) and the amount functions as a social index at Juv. Sat. 1. 106; 2. 117; 5. 132; 14. 322 ff.

Naevolus' total desires are small in comparison with the final totals reached in the three passages cited at the beginning of this note, and diminutive in comparison with senatorial fortunes (see R. Duncan-Jones, The Economy of the Roman Empire (Cambridge, 1974) 18 and 343 - 344. The interest rate, 5%, is fairly

standard /.....

standard (see Duncan-Jones, p. 33 and n. 3). Half the amount Naevolus specifies (i.e. HS 10,000) is made out to be a small sum at Sat. 13. 6 ff, but this is mainly an indication of the different status of Naevolus and Calvinus. Saller, PCPhS 29 (1983) 72 - 76, argues that the fenus in Sat. 9. 140 is not the annual interest on HS 400,000, or any similar figure, but capital placed in interest bearing loans. His main points are (i) that 'money out in interest bearing loans' is not a rare sense in early imperial usage; (ii) no temporal span is indicated and annual interest was not a natural assumption for a Roman; (iii) the list is one of assets so that fenus should preferably not be income; (iv) HS 20,000 p.a. would be the income deriving from the capital 'of a well-to-do man' and 'the value of the other assets would be insignificant by comparison'. Against these may be said (i) that 'interest' is not a rare sense (some of Saller's lexical assessments in n. 5 are open to dispute); (ii) in addition to the evidence given in Saller's nn. 12 and 13, Juv. Sat. 1. 117 ff shows income counted by the year; (iii) rather than a list of assets the passage should be seen as an impressionistic expression of some wishes (cf. Hipponax 32 W, in some ways similar); (iv) the 'assets' would indeed be small in comparison with the capital (but note (iii)), but not in comparison

with /.....

comparison with a year's income, which is the sum one lives on and (cf. Sat. 1. 117 ff) counts.

14) Courtney, p. 427.

15) See Ov. AA 1. 159 (with Hollis ad loc.); 2. 642: didactic was one of the higher genres; cf. also Juv. Sat. 7. 9) and nullum operae pretium, although not uncommon phraseology (cf. Juv. Sat. 12. 127; 14. 281) is compatible (cf. Pers. 6. 9; Ennius Ann.14 (W); see Ogilvie at Livy 5. 15. 6; operae pretium occurs in didactic or mock didactic contexts at Hor. Sat.1. 2. 37; 2. 4. 63; Epp. 2. 1. 229; pretium curae in a mock didactic context at Juv. Sat. 6. 474. See also Maximianus eleg. 3. 1 nunc operae pretium est.

16) Cf. Courtney, n. at Juv. Sat. 3. 228; N. - H. at Hor. O. 1. 1 (pp. 1- 2), for the catalogue of βίοι. See Winterbottom at [Quint.] Decl. Min. 268 for declamation.

17) Courtney, p. 425.

18) See Courtney's n. ad loc.

19) Cinaedus /.....

19) Cinaedus is strongly pejorative at Juv. Sat. 2. 10; 4. 106; 6. 0. 3; 14. 30.

20) Cf. Courtney, nn. at Juv. Sat. 9. 43 - 44; J. Henderson, The Maculate Muse (New Haven, 1975), 53, 199 ff (nos. 437, 446, 452); note also H.D. Jocelyn, EMC 29 (1985) 22 n. 64.

21) Except that Virro is no Ganymede; Sat. 9. 47 with Courtney ad loc.

22) Lectulus at Juv. Sat. 9. 77 is for metrical convenience rather than 'caressing the memory' (Courtney, n. ad loc); Lyne (at Ciris 440) does not justify (nor does he try) such a suggestion.

23) Housman's nempe should be accepted in Juv. Sat. 9. 74; see Courtney, n. ad loc.

24) See Courtney at Juv. Sat. 9. 87.

25) Cf. Sen. Contr. 2. 1. 17, 30: quidam induxerunt patrem cupidum divitiarum; Calp. Flacc. Decl. 11; 43; cf. Philomela and her children in Petr. 140.

26) Courtney, p. 427.

27) Cf. Petr. /....

27) Cf. Petr. 37. 8; Pers. 4. 26 (Schol., secundum proverbium, quantum milvi volant.

28) See Courtney, n. ad loc.

29) Courtney n. at Sat. 9. 60.

30) For the stigma attached to possessing only one or two slaves see G.E.M. de Ste Croix, The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World (London, 1981), 145 - 146. Note again how literary Naevolus is: Sat. 9. 64 - 65 and 69 (for which cf. Courtney ad loc. adding Hesiod Op. 582 ff; Alc. 347 LP).

31) I accept Clausen's text here. Wakefield's punctuation around velox flosculus, accepted by Courtney, seems very difficult (cf. G.B. Townend, CQ 19 (1969) 330 ff), especially against the collocation festinat decurrere velox.

32) Cf. Courtney, p. 426; Courtney compares Prop. 4. 5. 59 - 62.

33) Cf. Sen. Ep. 114. 4 - 5, 7, 16 (floridae ... et nimis dulces); Quint. 9. 4. 28, giving examples of Maecenas' word order; note esp. 'ne exequias quidem unus /.....

unus inter miserrimos viderem meas' (quod inter haec (= the other exx.) pessimum est, quia in re tristi ludit compositio); J. Bramble, Persius and the Programmatic Satire (Cambridge, 1974) 40, 44 f.

34) Cf. Lucr. 3. 904 - 908 with E.J. Kenney's n. ad loc.

35) For the point cf. Mart. 11. 32. 8, non est paupertas, Nestor, habere nihil.

36) See the passages cited by Courtney, n. ad loc., especially Prop. 3. 12. 34.

37) Courtney, P. 425. See above in main text at n. 17.

38) See Chapter 6, n. 2.

39) It should be noted that amicitia of one kind or another plays an important role in the third book (which Sat. 9 concludes) and thereafter becomes a much less significant theme in the satires.

40) The juxtaposition of Mart. 9. 40 and 9. 41 is a particularly good instance of Martial's technique of inoffensiveness. In general see J. Bramble in CHCL ii, pp. 597 - 623.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 9

1) Courtney, p. 489. See n. 57 below.

2) Cf. Catull. 13; Anth. Pal. 11. 44; Hor. O. 1. 20; Epp. 1. 5; Mart. 5. 78; 10. 48; 11. 52; Sidon. 17. 15 ff; cf. Petr. 46. 2; Pliny Ep. 1. 15; see L. Edmunds, AJPh 103 (1982) 184 f.

3) See F. Jones, ACl 26 (1983) 104 ff; on Persicus' name see Chapter 3, s.v. and Courtney, p. 492; cf. N. - H. on Hor. O. 1. 38. 1, Persicos, for Persian luxury.

4) A.S. Mc Devitt, G & R 15 (1968) 173 - 179.

5) K. Felton and K.H. Lee, Latomus 31 (1972) 1041 - 1046. See also C.F. Tosi, SIFC 51 (1979) 180 - 199.

6) J. Adamietz, Untersuchungen zu Juvenal (Wiesbaden, 1972) 117 et seqq., holds that Sat. 11 is a critique of 'Tafelluxus' in which Juvenal interweaves and confronts three elements (gluttony, his own modesty, and old Roman simplicity, the last two closely connected).

See /.....

See Felton and Lee, op. cit. (n. 5), 1044 with n. 2 on the soldier of the old days (Sat. 11. 100 ff); the passage is much better treated by K. Weisinger, CSCA 5 (1972) 230 and 237.

7) K. Weisinger, CSCA 5 (1972) 227 - 240.

8) It should be noted that there is no chronological distinction between the last two items.

9) See Weisinger, op. cit., 237 - 238; cf. Juv. Sat. 11. 21 f; 171 f.

10) Courtney, pp. 489 - 492.

11) Courtney, pp. 491 - 492.

12) F. Jones, AC1 26 (1983) 104 - 107.

13) Cf. the curious connection between Rubellius Blandus and the addressee in Juv. Sat. 8, discussed in Chapter 9.

14) Cf. the beginnings of the first three satires of Horace's first book (in Hor. Sat. 1. 3 Tigellius contrasts with himself); note esp. Hor. Sat. 1. 2. 11, laudatur /.....

laudatur ab his culpatur ab illis (cf. Juv. Sat. 11. 1 - 2) and, dealing with food, 2. 2. 46 - 66.

15) Courtney, pp. 489 - 490; cf. Weisinger, op. cit. 229 f.

16) Cf. Sen. Ep, 87. 9; 99. 13; Quint. 8. 5. 12 for bankrupt nobles turning gladiator. Cf. Adamietz, op cit. (n. 6) p. 124.

17) The tag in question is burlesqued at Ov. AA 2. 499 f.

18) Plato Philebus 48c et seqq.

19) See Courtney at Juv. Sat. 2. 40; Hollis at Ov. AA 1. 43; cf. Vagellius' clever turn (quoted at Sen. NQ 6. 2. 9), FPL (Morel) p. 124 frag. 1, si .... caldendum est, / e caelo cecidisse velim; shortly after this collocation of hackneyed phrases in Juvenal the allusion to the judgement of arms and Thersites' proper sense of place at Sat. 11. 30 f brings us to 'a stock example of the schools'; see Courtney, ad loc.

20) See F.R.D. Goodyear, PACA 16 (1982) 58.

21) See /.....

21) See H. Jordan, M. Catonis praeter librum de re rustica quae exstant (Leipzig, 1860), 97; Polybius 31. 25. 5a; Plut. Cat. Mai. 8. Perhaps this dictum is suggested also at Juv. Sat. 4. 25 f. See Chapter 6 n. 1 above,

22) Cf. Catull. 13. 8; cf. West at Hes. Op. 475.

23) See n. 18 above.

24) See G.E.M. de Ste Croix, The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World (London, 1981) 433 - 438; esp. 438.

25) See F. Jones, op. cit. (n. 3) cf. Hor. Sat. 2. 2. 96 - 99; for Juv. Sat. 11. 44 - 45 cf. esp. [Quint.] Decl. Min. 276. 10.

26) There is no problem in this: Persius defers his point from l. 12 to l. 121, practically the end of the first satire; the full application to Lucius of the Cupid and Psyche tale (Ap. Met. 4. 28 - 6. 24) is not clear until the eleventh book.

27) For some comments on 'self' portrayal in literature see K. Dowden, CQ 32 (1982) 427 - 428; M. Dyson, CQ 23 (1973) 127 ff.

28) F. Jones /.....

28) F. Jones, op. cit. (n. 3).

29) Jones, op. cit. (n. 3), 105 and nn. 8 and 9.

30) Highet, p. 279 n. 2, suggests that Sat. 11. 152 - 153 already show that the dinner does not occur on the farm. This is perhaps overstated, since we are not told the boy's origins. It is the setting of Sat. 11. 193 - 206 that makes the location clear. It might be noted that de Tiburtino... agro (65), written, as it is, to an addressee not on the Tiburtinus ager at the time, proves nothing.

31) Cf. Petr. 14. 3, where the heroes go to the market (somewhere on the Campanian coast) to buy food without much money.

32) For Pliny see Sherwin White at Ep. 1. 15; See also Stat. Silv. 4. 6. 1 ff; in a more complicated connection see Petr. 55. 6 and 93. 2.

33) See Anth. Pal. 11. 44; Hor. O. 1. 20; more examples up to Sidonius Carm. 17. 15 ff are provided by N. - H. i p. 245; Courtney, p. 491; cf. also Petr. 46. 2; Pliny Ep. 1. 15, on which see Edmunds, op. cit. (n. 2).

34) See /.....

34) See, e.g. Sat. 11. 162 ff with Courtney, p. 492; already at BICS 13 (1966) 43.

35) Pliny Ep. 1. 15. 3; cf. Juv. Sat. 11. 162 ff; Mart. 5. 78. 26 ff.

36) Cf. P.G. Walsh, The Roman novel (Cambridge, 1970) 211 and 250 and K. Dowden, CQ 32 (1982) 419 - 435, esp. 429 - 431 for Apuleius interfering with his narrator from the outside.

37) Courtney. p. 492.

38) J. Bramble, Persius and the programmatic satire (Cambridge, 1974) 33; on the general question see pp. 29 - 34 and Bramble in CHCL ii, pp. 619 ff.

39) This was a danger Plato saw in sophistry and Protagorean relativism; for the continuation of discussion see at A.A. Long, Hellenistic Philosophy (London), 1974) 201 ff.

40) See Courtney at Juv. Sat. 11. 77 and 89; Ogilvie at Livy 3. 11 - 14; add Livy 7. 39. 11 f (T.Quinctius); Sen. Contr. 2. 1. 8 with Winterbottom's note; Sen.

Ep. /.....

Ep. 51. 10 (on soldiers in general); Pliny NH 19. 87 (Manius Curius); the general at the plough was largely a fiction of ruling class propaganda; see G.E.M. de Ste Croix, op. cit. (n. 24) 121 - 122; cf. also R. Syme, The Roman revolution (Oxford, 1939) 449 - 452; L.P. Wilkinson, The Georgics of Virgil (Cambridge, 1969) 50 - 55.

41) See Hollis at Ov. Met. 8. 646 - 648 and pp. 106 f; Courtney at Juv. Sat. 11. 77.

42) Sat. 6. 5 ff; on the description of rustic virtue in Sat. 11 and the contrast with contemporary decadence cf. Weisinger, op. cit., 234 - 236. Felton and Lee, op. cit., 1044 n. 2, and Courtney, n. at Sat. 11. 100, hold that rudis is used as a term of praise here, and compare its use in 143. But the context differs: the slave is ignorant of the fineries listed and described so as to emphasis their ludicrousness and luxuriousness in Sat. 11. 136 ff, whereas the quality of what the soldier breaks is emphasised in Graias (100) (see Austin at V. Aen. 2. 148; Brink at Hor. Epp. 2. 1. 28; Courtney points out that Graius (as opposed to Graecus) is ironically used at Sat. 8. 226; 10. 138; 15. 110, but in those places there is no contrast with destructiveness, nor any

mention /.....

mention of magnorum artificum)and magnorum artificum (Sat. 11. 102); on this passage see Weisinger, op. cit. pp. 230, 237. Livy laments the beginning of the admiration for Greek art in 211 BC (25. 40. 1 - 2) when Marcellus sacked Syracuse; further references are given by Courtney (at Sat. 11. 100) and Griffin, JRS 66 (1976) 91; see also Vell. Pat. 1. 13. 4 - 5, describing Mummius as rudis with regard to Greek art (maximorum artificum ... tabulas statuas); the description seems to be pejorative, but Velleius adds a rather defensive tailpiece praising Mummius. Rome was flooded with Greek art, some disapproved; but it is worth noting that the emphatic commonplace is the beginning of the moral decline (variously dated for propaganda reasons; see B. Levick, G & R 29 (1982) 53 f) and the early acquisition of a taste for Greek art stemming from military activity, rather than a more or less putative stage (the historical development of tastes is irrelevant) of virile philistinism: Comparison with Vell. Pat. 1. 13. 3 (sic) - 5 surely reveals that Juvenal's lines are exaggerated. (Tac. Ann. 3. 55 shows reservations about the standard moral contrast of then and now (see F.R.D. Goodyear, BICS 17 (1970) 101 ff); Seneca rejects the thesis of the good old days at Ep. 97. 1 f; on the good old days see further M.M. Winkler, op. cit. (Introduction, n. 1) Chapter 2.)

43) A very clear example of such a technique is found at Sen. Contr. 9. 2. 21; in the declamation on Flamininus' execution of a criminal at the wish of a meretrix, Triarius said 'summove'. Audis, lictor? summove a praetore meretricem. Hoc non male ... 'verbera'. sed vide ne virgae tuae pocula nostra disturbent. 'Despolia'. meretrix, agnoscis hoc verbum ? certe provincia agnoscit. The words in inverted commas represent Triarius' depiction of what happened, the words following represent his own ironic insertions into the role (hoc non male is Triarius' retrospective evaluation; adiecit, omitted above, is Seneca's linking word and not part of Triarius' speech). Cf. also [Quint.] Decl. Min. 269. 15 with Winterbottom; K. Dowden, op. cit. (n. 36) 428, writing that scholars 'have been interested in the way that here [the prologue] and elsewhere Apuleius "plays hide and seek" with the reader or "peeks through the fabric of his novel" ...'.

44) On the text of the passage see: Shackleton Bailey, JRS 43 (1953) 224; Griffith, CR 11 (1961) 57; R.J. Smutny, CPh 52 (1957) 248 - 251; Courtney, BICS 22 (1975) 149; Goodyear, PACA 16 (1982) 59; Reeve, CR 33 (1983) 32 - 33. The usual strategies have been removal of 165 - 166 together with 168^{b} - 169a, or removal of 165 - 170. Griffith, Shackleton Bailey, Goodyear /.....

Goodyear and Reeve are unconvinced in part or whole by the excisions. That parts of the suspected passage sound Juvenalian has been advanced in support of deletion (the interpolations being modelled on Juvenalian passages) and retention. Relevant points are:-
(i) lines 165 - 6 occur in various places in the MSS. Only the position given by PA (and accepted in the editions) can give sense; disturbances in the ϕ MSS are not insuperably worrying. (ii) inritamentum and urticae are nominative. If 165 - 166 are accepted the wives are not watching something which is stimulating, but the fact that they are watching stimulates their husbands (cf. Petr. 26. 4 - 5, where Encolpius watches sexual activities with a prospective sexual partner; cf. 140. 11): this makes pointed and acceptable sense (ipsis is awkward, but may be an emphatic picking up of the main clause subject within a subordinate clause; cf. Sat. 13. 56; LS II F 3b). (iii) The contrast between the sexes is awkward in language and thought: the removal of lines 168b - 169a leaves magis extenditur as the clear result of inritamentum.

45) Cf. Sat. 11. 21 f; 23 et. seqq.; cf. 129 - 131; see Weisinger, op. cit. (n. 7), 239 - 240.

46) See /.....

46) See Courtney, p. 492; already at BICS 13 (1966) 43. For forsitan see esp. Juv. Sat. 8. 113.

47) Perhaps recollection of Sat. 11. 53 might suggest that the flattering implication (cf. Stat. Silv.3. 5. 14 ff) that Persicus scorns the games is false.

48) Cf. Hor. Epp. 1. 5. 10 - 11, 30 - 31 and Courtney, p. 491.

49) See Weisinger, op. cit. (n. 7), 240; Courtney, p. 491. For Juv. Sat.11. 186 - 189 cf. Sat. 8. 128 - 130 and see N. Rudd, The Satires of Horace (Cambridge, 1966) 263.

50) 'Cf. W. Blok, Verhaal en Lezer, Groningen ^{4}1973, p. 191, "The narrator creates a reader by addressing him. This is his first character with whom the actual reader can easily identify." For more about the "addressed reader" see A.L. Sötemann, De Structuur van Max Havelaar, Groningen ^{2}1973, I pp. 47 ff'. This note is taken from B.L. Hijmans' discussion of Apuleius' narrative technique in B.L. Hijmans and R.T. van der Paardt, (edd.), Aspects of Apuleius' Golden Ass (Groningen, 1978) 89 n. 31.

51) It /.....

51) It seems that when fenus means interest it is to be regarded as income, but when it means capital it is more flexible (like 'loan'); at Sat. 11. 40 either might be meant, at 48 capital; here either could be meant and Plaut. Cas. 22 - 24 and Persicus'implicit worry slightly favour fenoris meaning capital on loan to Persicus and therefore on which he owes interest. (Cf. Saller, PCPhS 29 (1983) 72 ff).

52) See Ruperti, n. ad loc. On early bathing and dining see Mayor and Courtney ad loc. and at Sat. 1. 49.

53) Cf. Cic. de Or. 3. 98 f; Sen. de vit. beata 7. 4; Pliny Ep. 7. 3. 3; cf. also Plato Phaedo 60 bc; Hor. O. 3. 29. 13; Sen. Contr. 2. 6. 3, gaudiorum taedium cepisti.

54) I have modified the position I held at ACl 26 (1983) 106. The reading given here takes iam nunc ... licet vadas and talis quoque in a more natural way. Possis (206) should be understood in a rather general sense, as second person verbs often are in satire.

55) On food see e.g. Hor. Sat. 2. 2; 2. 4; 2. 8; Pers. 2; Juv. Sat. 5 (like Persicus, Trebius is offered a meal

below /.....

below his expectations); on Juv. Sat. 11. 16 add Columella 10 praef. 2 to Courtney's parallels; on food from the sea or from over the sea, see Ennius Hedyphagetica; Varro Men. 303 B; Hor. Sat. 2. 2. 48 f; 2. 3. 235; Sall. Cat. 13; Sen. Ep. 89. 22; Cons. ad Helv. 10. 2 f; Petr. 93. 2; Lucan 4. 375 f; 10. 155 - 156; Stat. Silv. 4. 6. 11; Tac. Hist. 2. 62; Juv. Sat. 5. 93 ff; 11. 14 (with Courtney's note); Aull. Gell. 7. 16; in general see N. Rudd, The Satires of Horace (Cambridge, 1966) 202 - 207; J. Adamietz, op. cit. (n. 6) 79, 119 - 121; on monographs on luxurious dining see J. Griffin, JRS 71 (1981) 20 n. 24. The inclusion of the motif with regard to dogfood at Gratt. Cyneg. 307 ff shows how trite it had become.

56) M. Hodgardt, Satire (1969) 130, quoted at Courtney, p. 43; see also n. 50 above.

57) Given this double audience it is clear that on one level Persicus can be regarded as a rhetorical fiction conjured up for the benefit of the introduction - audience But whether he is regarded as apostrophised or addressed on his arrival at the Tiburtine estate, but before dinner, is (with qualifications) a less important distinction, for which see J. Adamietz, op. cit. (n. 6) p. 118, 'Der Freund ist dabei ganz offentsichtlich als anwesend vorgestellt, ...'

NOTES TO CHAPTER 10

1) See Hor. O. 2. 17. 30 - 32 with N. - H. at 32 citing Hor. O. 3. 23. 17 ff; 4. 2. 53 ff; V. Ecl. 3. 85 ff; Juv. Sat. 12. 3 ff; Headlam on Herodas 4. 16. The motif is clearly related to the conventions of the invitation poem (see Chapter 11, n. 2). There is an article on this satire by J. Adamietz, in Hommages à Jean Cousin (Paris, 1983) 237 - 248, which I have not had access to.

2) The text follows Housman here. On this passage see Housman, J.G. Griffith, CR 10 (1960) 189 - 192; Giangrande, Eranos 63 (1965) 36 f; Courtney, ad loc.

3) Similarly ποικιλοσαμβάλῳ (deictic) at Anacr. 358 P indicates that Anacreon portrays himself as not knowing the girl, pace commentators. Note Petr. 100. 7 where Eumolpus replies to a question about who else is on the ship: '.... quid porro ad rem pertinet, si dixero Licham Tarentinum esse dominum huiusce navigii, qui Tryphaenam exulem Tarentum ferat ?' Eumolpus does not know that the heroes know Lichas and Tryphaena and therefore in each case uses both name and a descriptive appendage. In

conversation /....

conversation there is a tacit agreement that in speaking of someone not known to both parties, either speaker will at first use such a descriptive or identifying attribute with or without the name (cf. Bargates at 96. 4). (Hence exulem cannot be deleted with Müller').

4) O. Haenicke, Kritische Untersuchung über die Echtheit der 12. Satire von Juvenal (Putbus, 1877); according to Helmbold, CPh 51 (1956) 23 n. 12 (I have not had access to Haenicke's book) Haenicke postulates 'that the whole storm passage was ironically written ...; it was a burlesque of the rhetorical schools'; according to Duff (n. at Sat. 12. 23) 'Juv. seems a little sceptical of his friend's account of his disasters'; Helmbold, CPh 51 (1956) 14 - 23 sees humorous exaggeration and facetiousness; M.P.O. Morford, The Poet Lucan (Oxford, 1967) 23 writes 'Juvenal's sneer [Sat. 12. 22 - 24] is a fitting epitaph to the descriptive tradition' and in n. 1 thereon, 'Juvenal's attitude to the sea may be summed up by 12. 81 - 2'. Courtney (pp. 516 - 517 and nn. cited there) documents the humour and exaggeration and speaks in terms of irony and mock epic; Ferguson (p. 294 and nn. on Sat. 12. 17 - 82) stresses this element; on the ironic conclusion to the storm at Sat. 12. 79 ff see F. Jones, LCM 7. 9 (1982) 140.

5) Cf. Plaut. /...

5) Cf. Plaut. Cas. 860 f; Most. 1149; cf. Cas. 1006; Merc. 1007; Pseud. 388.

6) Cf. Chapter 3, n. 69.

7) On emasculation note Otto, Sprichw., s.v. vir and see Pers. 1. 103 - 104; Petr. 44. 14; Quint. 1. 10. 31; cf. Juv. Sat. 2.

8) Cf. Juv. Sat. 14. 287 ff; compare mox in Sat. 12. 60 and Hor. O. 1. 1. 17 cited at Chapter 3, n. 72.

9) Cf. Helmbold, op.cit. (n. 4), 19; Ferguson, p. 294 and n. Sat. 12. 46; Courtney, p. 517; contrast Duff, n. at Sat. 12. 52.

10) For the commonplace at Sat. 12. 58 - 59 see Morford, op. cit. (n. 4), 27 n. 4; for the odd, see Sat. 12. 55 - 56, discriminis ultima, quando / praesidia adferimus nauem factura minorem (cf. the less absurd siege description in Livy: sed interiora tuendo minorem in dies urbem Saguntini faciunt, 21. 11. 11); for i nunc ... at Sat. 12. 57, see Courtney ad loc.

11) Cf. Tarrant at Sen. Ag. 470.

12) Note /.....

12) Note esp. garrula pericula; see F. Jones, loc. cit. (n. 4). Sailing was a perennial source of fantastic tales from Odysseus (cf. Juv. Sat. 15. 13 ff) and the Argonauts on; cf. the borderline area between periploi and paradoxography (see Lucian Ver. Hist. cf. A. Scobie, Aspects of the Ancient Romance and its heritage (Meisenheim am Glan, 1969) 43 - 46, esp. 45 - 46).

13) The sacrifice (or preparation) gives the poem its dramatic situation (cf. Hor. O. 3. 8) and thus cannot be discounted. That there is no indication that Catullus will arrive is no more a problem than Maecenas' absence in Hor. O. 4. 11.

14) See text at n. 3 above and note that the speaker needs to tell Corvinus of Catullus' three children (Sat. 12 94 ff). Nostro ... Catullo (Sat. 12. 29) does not entail tripartite acquaintance.

15) Naevolus gives Virro heirs in Sat. 9 but Virro seems able to bequeath elsewhere (Sat. 9. 62). But we are dealing with literary uses of the orbitas commonplace and Virro is depicted as a special case.

16) Ramage, ICS 3 (1978) 225 and 227, is particularly

embarrassed / ....

embarrassed by the tone used for Catullus.

17) D. Singleton, G & R 30 (1983) 198 ff, has given a similar account of Sat. 15; see in general the approach of Bramble in CHCL ii pp. 597 - 623. The interpretation offered here is like that of Helmbold (CPh 51 (1956) 18 ff), Ramage (ICS 3 (1978) 221 ff, adding nothing of substance to Helmbold) and Courtney (p. 517), but provides an explanation for the irony expended on Catullus, which they do not.
There is a contrast between the speaker and the captatores, but it is that whereas the speaker claims he would and the captatores promise they will sacrifice more if possible, the captatores are waiting on the death of their (non-sacrificial) victim and the speaker is amused at the escape from death of his.

18) Perhaps Catullus' name also supports this, via Mart. 12. 73 (s.v. Chapter 3, Catullus (ii)).

19) Tibullus (especially in 1. 2, with its sudden address to the audience / reader at lines 87 f) and Ovid are closely analogous antecedents; see (for Tibullus) D. Bright, Haec mihi fingebam (Leiden, 1978) 146; on the irony of 1. 2 see p. 134, '... It is not always

easy /.....

easy to draw a firm line between what is gloomy and self mocking and what is straight-laced fun at the expense of tradition'; also D.O. Ross, Backgrounds to Augustan Poetry (Cambridge, 1975), 160, holding that demonstration of the inadequacy of various elegiac poses is Tibullus' purpose in a substantial part of Book 1 of the Elegies.

NOTES /.....

NOTES TO CHAPTER 11

1) Despite obvious differences between Sat. 12 and Sat. 13 there are certain clear and basic similarities. Both are 'disaster' poems (one an escape, the other a consolation) with some generic formality, both involve financial loss, and near the beginning of both Juvenal uses similar language claiming that the disaster is slight: Sat. 12. 26, dira quidem sed cognita multis; Sat. 13. 9, casus multis hic cognitus.

2) For examples see Sulpicius ap. Cic. ad Famm. 4. 5; Ov. Pont. 4. 11; Sen. Ep. 63, 93, 99; Dial. 6, 11, 12; [Plut.] Cons. ad Apollonium; Plut. Cons. ad uxorem; for discussion see Cic. Tusc. Disp. 3. 75 ff; see further Morford, AJPh 94 (1973) 35 n. 28; Courtney's bibliography at p. 537, adding C.E. Manning, G & R 21 (1974) 71 ff.

3) See esp. M. Morford, AJPh 94 (1973) 26 ff.

4) For its resurrection and failure see the early view of Friedländer and Schwabe's response, cited by Highet, p. 281 n. 3.

5) See /.....

5) See C.W. Stocker's 1839 edition, p. 300.

6) See further Pryor's list of such comments, AUMLA 18 (1962) 167.

7) See A.D. Pryor, op. cit. (n. 6), 167 ff; W.S. Anderson, Univ. Calif. Publ. CPh 19 (1964) 184 - 190 (= Essays, pp. 350 - 356); S.C. Fredericks, Arethusa 4 (1971) 219 ff; L. Edmunds, RhM 115 (1972) 59 ff; M. Morford, AJPh 94 (1973) 26 ff.

8) Courtney, p. 533 ff.

9) Courtney, p. 537.

10) Courtney, p. 533; Pryor, op. cit. (n. 6), 176, holds that the irony is more disguised in the second half (Sat. 13. 174 et. seqq.). J. Adamietz, Hermes 112 (1984) 469 ff, argues that Sat. 13 is not a parody of the consolatio and although he describes parts as ironic (e.g. p. 474) his interpretation is throughout excessively serious and simple minded.

11) M.D. Reeve, CR 33 (1983) 33.

12) Reeve, loc. cit. (n. 11).

13) It /.....

13) It is commonplace for consolatio/-nes to include expressions of doubt as to their efficacy, but this is a matter of tact. Cf. Sulpicius ap. Cic. ad Famm. 4. 5. 1, 6; Cic. ad Famm. 5. 16. 1, 2; Sen. Cons. ad Helv. 1. 2; cf. in theory, Cic. Tusc. Disp. 3. 79; from other points of view Pliny Ep. 1. 12. 13; 5. 16. 10 - 11; the consoler's situation adds complexity: Catull. 68. 1 ff; Sen. Cons. ad Polyb. 18. 9.

Related is the concept common in poetry that poetry is inadequate against the harshness of actual experience, e.g.: Catull. 65. 1 ff; 68. 31 ff; Tib. 1. 4. 77 - 84; 2. 4. 13 ff; V. Ecl. 9; 10. 31 ff; 10. 60 ff; Orpheus in Georgics 4; Hor. Epod. 11; O. 1. 24; Ov. Her. 15. 195 - 198; Browning, The Last Ride Together 7; Tennyson, In Mem. 5; Eliot, East Coker (Four Quartets), 172 et. seqq.

14) Cf. Pryor, op. cit. (n. 6), 168; Anderson, Essays pp. 352 - 353; it has been argued that Seneca's Cons. ad Polyb. is ironic (see bibliographical survey by J.E. Atkinson in ANRW 32. 2, pp. 872 - 879; for that question cf. in general also F. Ahl, AJPh 105 (1984) 174 ff); if so the irony is not commensurate or comparable. The subject matter of Juvenal's consolatio is found in declamatio ; cf. [Quint.] Decl. Min. 245; 269; 312; 353; cf. Quint. 7. 3. 1.

15) Cf. Sen. /....

15) Cf. Sen. Ep. 7. 5, mala exempla in eos redundare qui faciunt; Juvenal's argument in Sat. 13. 1 ff is obscure and Reeve writes, 'the punishment of conscience can hardly be used as the premise of an a fortiori argument at the beginning of the poem when J. is going to produce it like a rabbit from a hat in 192 - 239'. Reeve goes on to air the possibility of the lines being interpolated (CR 33 (1983) 30). Sat. 13. 4, however, is quoted under Juvenal's name by Servius at Aen. 6. 431.

16) Cf. Sen. Ep. 42. 2; 97. 14; 105. 7 - 8; dial 5. 26. 2; cf. Petr. 125. 4; the conscience is a commonplace theme in declamation (see [Quint.] Decl. Min. 314. 17 with Winterbottom; Calp. Flacc. 49), and Tacitus' accounts of Tiberius (Ann. 6. 6) and Nero (Ann. 14. 10) may be influenced by such material, see also Courtney at Juv. Sat. 13. 192 f.

17) Cf. also Sen. Cons. ad. Helv. 1. 2; Stat. Silv. 1 praef.; 5. 1. 18; cf. Edmunds, RhM 115 (1972) 63; for some exceptions see Courtney at Sat. 13. 5.

18) It was conventional to indicate shared emotion; see Cic. ad Famm. 4. 5. 1; 5. 16. 1; Ov. Pont. 4. 11. 10;

cf. N. - H. /....

cf. N. - H. i pp. 280 - 281 on Hor. O. 1. 24 and see esp. cantemus (i.e. second person plural) at Hor. O. 2. 9. 18, comparing ponamus at Juv. Sat. 13. 11; the second person verb here is the only gesture towards sympathy in the satire.

19) Juv. Sat. 13. 16 - 18; for the third person form see Chapter 2 n. 3; for Calvinus' anger cf. Sen. dial. 5. 33. 3.

20) Cf. Pryor, op. cit. (n. 6), 173; Fredericks op. cit. (n. 7), 219; Edmunds, op. cit. (n. 7), 67 - 68; Morford, op. cit. (n. 7), 27 - 28; Courtney, p. 535.

21) Cf. Xenophanes fr. 11, 15, 16 DK; Heraclitus fr. 5, 14, 15 DK; Plato Resp. 377 d; Lucr. 1. 62 ff esp. 80 - 101.

22) On the mark of respect see Mayor ad loc., adding Sen. Contr. 1. 4. 10.

23) Cf. Leges sine moribus vanae, Hor. O. 3. 24. 35 - 36;

24) Martin (Tacitus (London, 1981) 259 n. 4) notes the Sallustian phraseology of prominent parts of Longinus' speech and concludes (p. 175) that it is highly dubious

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to suppose Tacitus favoured the less inhumane option (on Longinus see also Ann. 13. 48); in a similar case Pliny shows clear bias (contrasting Ep. 3. 14. 1 and 5 with regard to the slave's motivation shows his illogicality) in favour of severity; on these cases see G.E.M. de Ste Croix, The Class Struggle in the ancient Greek World (London, 1981) 310, 409 ff.

25) In Sat. 1. 3. 99 ff Horace draws a Lucretian picture of the development of primitive man (cf. also Cic. pro. Sest. 91- 92; Juv. Sat. 15. 147 ff) which does not involve primal innocence, and the function of which is to justify sense and moderation in imposing penalties (see esp. Hor. Sat. 1. 3. 115 - 124).

26) Courtney, p. 537.

27) (HS 1,200,000 X $\frac{5}{100}$) ÷ 12 = HS 5,000; for the senatorial census see Duncan-Jones, The economy of the Roman Empire (Cambridge, 1974) 4 n. 2; for the fairly standard rate of interest at 5%, p. 33 and n. 3; in Pliny's day HS 8,000,000 would be an appropriate capital for senators (p. 18 and n. 7), but HS 1,200,000 would allow life as a gentleman on the principle that HS 400,000 is used in literature as the minimum figure for such a life (see Chapter 8, n. 13 above).

28) See /.....

28) See Duncan-Jones, op. cit. (n. 27) 250 and n. 1; note Juv. Sat. 4. 15 - 16.

29) See the list of prices at Duncan-Jones, op. cit. (n. 27), 348 - 350.

30) See Chapter 8, n. 13 above.

31) There is a somewhat similar point made at Sat. 7. 186 - 187, where HS 2,000 is the amount involved.

32) Cf. Pryor, op. cit. (n. 6) 175; Edmunds, op. cit. (n. 7), 68; Morford, op. cit. (n. 7), 29.

33) Cf. Fredericks, op. cit. (n. 7), 221.

34) For the oddity of the grand language of adversis fatis see Courtney at Sat. 13. 156.

35) Cf. Reeve, CR. 33 (1983) 33,'if constant snatching of Pygmies by cranes isn't funny to a Pygmy, then Calvinus can say that constant defrauding of depositors by depositaries isn't funny to a depositor.' Courtney's objection (pp. 535 - 536) is highly dubious: he draws a series 'gentes nostrae: Pygmaei etc.: deformity' and gets into difficulty about what corresponds

to /.....

to gentes nostrae in the series '? : humanum genus : criminality' since he inserts the uncorrupted indigenae of 38 in the space, despite the irony expended on them there. This is too complicated and mechanical and the parallelism is simply: '(What you regard as) crime is normal in gentes nostrae' as against '(What we regard as) abnormalities are normal in Alpibus etc'. See also Edmunds, RhM 115 (1972) 70 for a less mechanical statement of what is in essence the position Courtney took, but Sen. dial. 5. 26. 3 and the commonplace of national characteristics (see Courtney at Sat. 13. 164 - 165 and see Calp. Flacc. decl.2 (p. 2. 6 f), sua cuique genti etiam facies manet: ... Germaniae ... Hispaniae ‹...›) parodied by Petronius (Satyrica 102) and the Moretum poet (Mor. 32 ff), conspire to suggest such arguments may be over-refined.

36) Furthermore the tumidum guttur though common in Alpibus can hardly have been in reality so common as to be accepted as normal (Pliny NH 37. 44 reports that amber was worn for its prophylactic value).

37) Cf. Courtney, p. 537.

38) Cf. Pryor, op. cit. (n. 6) 176.

39) The /.....

39) The penalty of conscience is a fairly common motif (see n. 16 above) in relation to the unsatisfactoriness of sin, but not in relation to ways of achieving revenge.

40) Courtney (n. at Sat. 13. 248 - 249) tries to make a case for supposing that there is no conflict between Sat. 13. 181 sqq. and 13. 247 - 249, but there is a smooth development from line 192 to the end of the poem and the transition at lines 191 - 193 makes it patent that the change of aspect from personally extracted vengeance and one vicariously exacted by gods or natural tendencies does not avoid the conflict.

41) There is a possibility that in Sat. 7 the speaker plays on the addressee's more and more desperate search for a living from literary pursuits. For the speaker playing on Calvinus' desire for revenge, cf. Pryor, AUMLA 18 (1962) 178 - 179; Edmunds, RhM 115 (1972) 66, 73; for the unconvincingness of the final section see Pryor, pp. 176 - 179; Edmunds, 71 - 72; Morford, AJPh 94 (1973) 32 ff; Contrast Courtney, pp. 533 and 536 who takes Sat. 13. 174 - 249 seriously and Fredericks, Arethusa 4 (1971) 222 - 223 who takes the penalty of conscience seriously.

42) Only /.....

42) Only the criminal's vision of Calvinus in his dreams seems absurd (Sat. 13. 220 - 222; at Sat. 13. 192 sqq. Courtney cites [Quint.] Decl. Min. 314. 20 as giving another 'appearance of the wronged person in a dream, cf. Juv. 221 sqq.', but since that is a case of a parricide victim there is a drastic qualitative difference) and the mythological apparatus of lines 199 - 207 seems to be more rhetorical inflatus of the kind already used to mock Calvinus, particularly at Sat. 13. 64 - 70 and 162 - 173.

43) Cf. Edmunds, op. cit. (n. 7) 72; Morford, op. cit. (n. 7), 33 n. 22. For Juv. Sat. 13 100 and its reverse of the usual form, cf. Tarrant at Sen. Ag. 403a.

44) Courtney, p. 536.

45) Frederick, op cit. (n. 7) 223; my patchwork of quotations does not misrepresent Frederick's argument.

46) See Edmunds, op. cit. (n. 7) 73.

47) Courtney (BICS 13 (1966) 42) proposes Drusum.

48) See Chapter 2, section 4; I hope to publish on the nomen invisum and related phenomena elsewhere.

49) Cf. [Quint.] /....

49) Cf. [Quint.] Decl. Min. 262. 3.

50) Cf. Adamietz, op. cit. (n. 10), 471, 472, 480.

NOTES /.....

NOTES TO CHAPTER 12

1) See R.A. Lafleur cited at Chapter 2, n. 19.

2) See F. Bellandi, Maia 26 (1974) 279 - 299.

3) See Chapter 1, nn. 16 - 18 above.

4) On the partial interchangeability of ira and indignatio see Anderson, CPCPh 19 (1964) 149 ff (=Essays, pp.315 ff); for anger as a rhetorical pose see Anderson, CSCA 3 (1970) 1 - 34 (= Essays, pp. 362 ff); CPCPh 19 (1964) 127 ff = 293 ff).

5) See Sat. 5. 26 ff, 76 ff, 125 ff, 157 - 160 for Trebius' anger.

6) See Anderson, CPh 57 (1962) 148 - 149; Adamietz, Untersuchungen zu Juvenal (Wiesbaden, 1972) 78 (and note p. 98 on the resemblance to Sat. 6).

7) Like the speaker in Sat. 4, Trebius' anger is frustrated (it is diverted to Virro's freedmen at Sat. 5. 26 ff): Sat. 5 shows that it would in any case be inappropriate.

8) Note /.....

8) Note Sat. 1. 133 - 134, Longissima cenae / spes homini against Sat. 5. 166, spes bene cenandi vos decipit; compare also Sat. 3. 127 ff with Sat. 5. 20 ff.

9) There are some detailed resemblances to earlier satires which tighten the more obvious general connections: the motif of a change of propositum at Sat. 9. 20 - 1 and 5. 1 links Naevolus and Trebius; at Sat. 9. 25 Naevolus is a notior Aufidio moechus, at Sat. 6. 42 Ursidius is moechorum notissimus; at Sat. 9. 40 Virro computat et cevet, At Sat. 5. 14 - 15 Virro imputat ... imputat; the passage on secrets at Sat. 9. 96 ff contrasts with Umbricius' views at Sat. 3. 51 ff, but both Naevolus and Umbricius are placed in related circumstances and equally short sighted; at Sat. 9. 125 - 126 Naevolus complains of his spes deceptas, at Sat. 5. 166 the speaker says to Trebius spes ... vos decipit (cf. also Sat. 1. 133 - 134); at Sat. 9. 130 the speaker tells Naevolus numquam pathicus tibi derit amicus, at Sat. 2. 168 he generalises non umquam derit amator.

10) Cf. Anderson, CPh 57 (1962) 145 - 160 (= Essays, pp. 277 ff.

11) See S.C. Fredericks, Arethusa 4 (1971) 219 - 231; Anderson, Essays pp. 350 ff; cf. loc. cit. (n. 10).

12) Cf. / .....

12) Cf. M. Stevens, Viator 9 (1978) 193 ff on the concept of the 'performing self' (in the twelfth century).

13) Cf. Chapter 9, nn. 50, 57.

14) That the 'later' books are different is generally admitted: see Pryor, BICS 8 (1961) 85; Anderson, op. cit. (n. 10); L.I. Lindo, CPh 69 (1974) 17 - 27; Bramble, CHCL ii, pp. 597, 622 - 623.

15) Cf. also husband and 'bad' wife in Sat. 6.

16) Cf. Chapter 11 n. 49, citing Adamietz, for similarities between Sat. 3, 5, 9 and 13 in this respect.

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NOTES TO APPENDIX

1) 1. 2. 1; 1. 3. 1; 1. 8. 1; Aristius Fuscus at 1. 10. 1, 44 is a different phenomenon.

2) Cf. M.J. Mc Gann, Studies in Horace's First book of Epistles (Brussels, 1969) 57.

3) C. Macleod, JRS 69 (1979) 24.

4) Cf. Clarke CR 22 (1972) 158 n. 1.

5) Cf. E.J. Kenney, ICS 2 (1977) 229 ff.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

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1662 T. Farnaby, Amsterdam

1715 L. Prateus, London

1819 - 20 G.A. Ruperti^{2}, Leipzig (^{1}1801)

1839 C.W. Stocker^{2}, London

1851 O. Jahn, Berlin

1867 / .....

1867	A.J. Macleane, London
1886 - 9	J.E.B. Mayor[4], London ([1]1853, [3]1872 - 8)
1889	A. Weidner[2], Leipzig ([1]1873)
1892	C.H. Pearson and H.A. Strong, Oxford
1895	L. Friedländer, Leipzig
1898	Duff, Cambridge
1903	H.L. Wilson, Boston
1907	S.G. Owen[2], Oxford
1931	A.E. Housman[2], Cambridge ([1]1905)
1950	U. Knoche, Munich
1959	W.V.Clausen, Oxford
1965	R. Marache, Paris (Sat. 3, 4, 5)
1977	N. Rudd and E. Courtney, Bristol (Sat. 1, 3, 10)
1979	J. Ferguson, London
1980	E. Courtney, London
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1984	E. Courtney, Rome (not seen)

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ADDENDA /.....

A D D E N D A

Chapter 1 n. 4 — Add Quint. 4. 1. 52 (cf. 4. 2. 89); [Quint.] Decl. Min. 316. 2 with M. Winterbottom's note.

Chapter 3 n. 32 — See also Cestius' In Milonem, and similar pieces by Gallio and Latro; Sen. Contr. 3 pr. 16; 10 pr. 8; 2. 4. 8; the progymnasma mentioned by Suetonius, viros inlustres laudare vel vituperare (de Gramm. 25. 8) is also relevant.

Chapter 4 n. 19 — Add Kenney on Lucr. 3. 1068 (adding [Quint.] Decl. Min. 314. 17).

Chapter 4 n. 43 — For ancient literature on amicitia see Winterbottom at [Quint.] Decl. Min. 308. 20. For Chione (Sat. 3. 136) see Mart. 3. 30.

Chapter 4 n. 57 — See generally J. Fairweather, Seneca the Elder (Cambridge, 1981) 24.

Chapter 5 n. 2 /.....

Chapter 5 n. 2 — Add [Quint.] Decl. Min. 301. 10 with Winterbottom's note.

Chapter 7 n. 29 — Cf. mensae communis [Quint.] Decl. Min. 301. 11

Chapter 9 n. 16 — Add [Quint.] Decl. Min. 302. 4.

Chapter 9 n. 28 — Cf. also [Quint.] Decl. Min. 301. 10 with Winterbottom's note (citing Hor. O. 3. 29. 13).

Chapter 9 n. 32 — For the rich playing (lusus) at being poor see Sen. Ep. 18. 7.

Chapter 9 n. 43 — For 'out of character' sententiae cf. Sen. Contr. 2. 1. 24.

Chapter 11 n. 16 — Add that in [Quint.] Decl. Min.314. 16 the victim threatens the murderer with haunting.

Chapter 11 n. 30 — At [Quint.] Decl. Min. 318 decem milia is the sum disputed, in a testament case, by freedman and heir. Cf. Decl. Min. 252; 265; 370; RLM p. 96.7 (Halm).

Chapter 11 p 281 /.....

Chapter 11 p 281 At [Quint.] Decl. Min. 324. 8 furiae drive the criminal to commit a new crime and be caught.